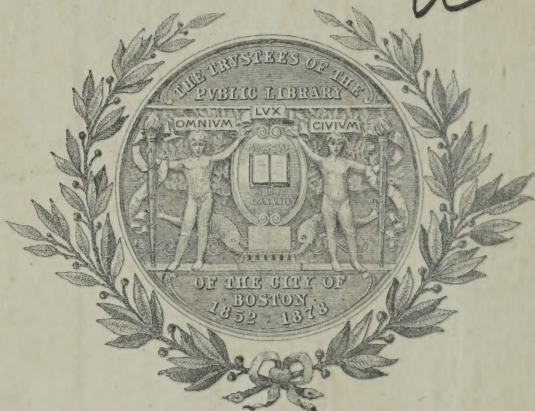


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Mass. Anti-Slavery Soc.

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SLAVERY,
AND
THE SLAVEHOLDER'S RELIGION;
AS OPPOSED TO
CHRISTIANITY,

BY SAMUEL BROOKE.

"But woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites for ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in."

CINCINNATI:
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.
1846.

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Mass Anti-Slavery Soc

May 26, 1866

"But was unto you despised and despisers, hypocritical for ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against them; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in."

FURNISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

CINCINNATI

1846.

INTRODUCTION.

UNDER the broad Ægis of the American Union,—within a government which sprang into existence with this as its earliest declaration, “That all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;”—at the heart of a nation which took its place among the independent Governments of the earth, amidst those mighty convulsions occasioned by a stern combat for these declared rights that rocked two hemispheres as with an earthquake’s violence, human beings are claimed as property, and held as slaves! But could those, who in the days that tried men’s souls, when dangers, like crouching lions, met them in every path, those men whose hearts leaped up at the word LIBERTY, and whose faith in the professions of the leaders of the American people was unbounded,—men, who, believing the Americans sincere in that declaration, who believed them heroic when they ventured their lives, generous, when they staked their fortunes, truthful, when they pledged their honor, honest, when they appealed to the Supreme Judge of the Universe for the rectitude of their intentions, and believing thus, rallied around the American standard, leaving the rocky hills of the North, the fertile fields of the Middle States, who came up from the sunny South, from enthusiastic France, from liberty loving Poland, and the Afri-co American, who, from among the slaves, came with the cry of “give me liberty, or give me death” upon his lips, and entered the ranks to battle against tyranny, *all*, hoping and believing, as well when the death rattle was in the throat, as in the hour of triumph, when victory perched upon their banners, that they were struggling for liberty, for the pursuit of happiness, for the welfare of wives, of children, of parents, for the right, for the principle that men are capable of self government, that governments are established among men for the protection of rights, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and at so great a cost of blood, and treasure, achieved the independence of this country. Could they with prophetic ken have looked down the vista of coming time and foreseen the fearful wrecks of principle, not as the airy phantoms of a diseased imagination, nor as the impalpable figures of a fevered dream; but, realising the frightful amount of guilt to be

enacted, the three millions of human beings in chains, the violation of every principle of human brotherhood, of natural right, of justice, of humanity, of christianity, of love to God, and to man. Could they have seen the wretched slave coffle, conveying its load of anguish to the Southern swamps, the cruel separation of friends, the sundering of families, scattering them hopeless of re-union—the instruments of torture, the horrors of the slave prison, heard the cry of the child, the agonising shriek of the mother, the moanings of the sister, and the stifled groans of the strong man in fetters, witnessed the degradation of the intellect, and the darkening of the understanding of a whole race, and have seen that flag which so often had waved triumphantly over their own heads, when they believed themselves fighting for liberty, now reared over those who crush the man into the slave; how it must have paralysed their efforts, dampened their glowing enthusiasm, and chilled the generous ardour which prompted them to offer their lives, if needful, as a sacrifice upon what they believed to be the altar of liberty! And how their feelings must have revolted at the thought of, and their hands recoiled from, a contest, ostensibly for liberty and the rights of man; but in reality, a struggle to build up a slaveholding government, and in disgust have retired from the inglorious strife to their homes, and there have mourned in sadness of heart and bitterness of soul over the faithlessness of Americans, and the blasted hopes of those who long for freedom for mankind!! But to leave speculation upon the consequences; had the men of the past foreseen the present, *we* stand with the appalling fact staring us in the face, that we are in the midst of a nation, where human beings are claimed as property, and held as slaves! This claim receives a sanction, not alone by the political institutions of the country, by which the physical power of the whole people is pledged to sustain it, but also, by the individual declarations of the opponents of emancipation both in the North and the South. By many of these it is said that to abolish slavery would be wrong, because the act of abolition would deprive the slave claimant of his property, and hence it is inferred that the advocates of emancipation are clearly in error. If the slaves do in reality belong to their claimants, the premises being true, the conclusion drawn in regard to the error of abolitionists must also be correct, since the slave cannot be the property of a master, unless he is rightfully such, and the person cannot be otherwise than wrong, who endeavors to abrogate a right.

If the slave is the property of his master, it follows that the principles of the American Declaration of Independence are untrue, and Christianity a fable. If the master does own the slave, then, it is evident, men have not inalienable rights—then are men not to be governed by principles of immutable and eternal justice, for what is just and right is contingent upon circumstances which change with the will and power of those who

mould them, and the rights of many, are contingencies depending upon these, for existence and character.

Upon the question of the right of the master to the slave the people of this land are divided. A small minority assume the ground that the rights of the most humble are as perfect as those of the most gifted. That the person held in slavery has an equal right to liberty, with the one who claims him, and that this right was conferred upon both by the Author of our existence. In taking this position, they believe they have planted themselves upon the rock of Eternal truth, and therefore untiringly, and firmly demand the abolition of slavery. They ask of their fellow men to cease to lay violent hands upon the rights of others, humble though these may be. They tell them it is far more mean and inglorious to outrage the rights of the weak, and the helpless, than to impose upon those strong to attempt their own redress. That it is noble and God-like to seek the liberty of the captive, and the liberation of those who are in bonds. On the other hand a large majority of the people oppose this demand, resisting the efforts of the abolitionists, and denying the truth of their doctrines. I say a large majority, for all who do not refuse to aid the master in crushing him, who fail to advocate the enfranchisement of the slave, stand in opposition to that measure. It being a great moral question, one of right, of duty, of religion, all who are not for the measure, are against it. Those who are not for justice uphold injustice—there is no neutral ground to stand upon in a question of this character. Christ has said, "he that is not for me is against me." The slave is kept in his condition under the authority of constitutional and statutory enactments, and those who administer, execute or authorise the execution of these enactments, stand with their feet upon his neck. Slaveholding being a matter of agreement between the people of the different States of this Union, each with all and all with each, dependent entirely upon this for its continuance, those who stand in that compact, who fulfil that agreement, stand with iron heels upon the bleeding bosom of the prostrate slave.

But if the slave *does* belong to his claimant, he is rightfully his property. If an article is mine, it is mine of *right*. Something is not produced of nothing. A right cannot grow out of nothing. When a man is in possession of a right he receives it from some source of power to invest him with it. When it is claimed that a master owns a slave, that he has a right to him, if he really possesses it, the right grows out of something, proceeds from some source. Many persons have no definite idea on the subject of rights. Some such, while they suppose the master has a right to the slave, from whence derived they know not, are in their actions still governed by a vague, indefinite idea, floating somewhere in the region of chaotic thought, that he is property, because the other has paid his money for him. To get at the question I will assume that the slave *does*

belong to his master, and thus proceeding upon the claim of the opponents of emancipation, will draw some conclusions from their premises, and in the light of those conclusions, perhaps I may be able to reconcile the slaveholding religion of this country, and the conduct of the American people with that claim, and also indicate the perfect consistency of the professors of that religion, its D. D's., its ministers, and adherents, scattered all over the North and the South, in their warfare upon christianity.

The master having a right to the slave, that right in its source proceeds from either, 1. Because he *claims* him as his property, or, 2. Because he has got him into his possession by purchase or otherwise, or, 3. Because the law declares him to be his property, or, 4. and lastly, because God has conferred upon the master a right to the slave: From one of these four different sources he obtains that right. Does he possess a right through the first—namely: the claim made to him as property? Then is the right of the robber to the stolen goods in his hands, which he claims, a perfect one. If to merely claim any thing as mine, gives me a right to it, all things which I claim will become mine; my neighbors house will become mine by merely claiming it, and if you choose, you may establish an equal claim to it, as yours, while he may choose to continue to claim it as his, and the right of each of us to its possession will be equal! If the mere claim of the master invests him with a right to the slave, then every person whom he may choose to claim, from the king on the throne, to the beggar on his straw, will also become his slave, and thus every person will become a slave to every other person, who may fancy it worth while to put in a claim for possession. To state the argument is sufficient to demonstrate its absurdity. But, 2. He is his property, because he has him in possession by purchase or otherwise.

According to this proposition, might makes, or confers a right. The weak and defenceless man must serve the strong, because he has power to enslave him. The King, or the President, is not my slave, only because I have not the power to reduce him to bondage, and whoever has the power may rightfully deprive him, me, or any other, of his liberty. If superior physical ability, greater mental power, or a larger amount of wealth, gives to the possessor the right to enslave those of lesser ability, power and wealth, then A may have the right to enslave me, because he is stronger, B, because he is more intellectual, C, because he is more affluent, and thus the rights of A, B, and C to me will all be equal and each conflict with the other. And for the same reason A may rightfully claim possession of B, the later of C, and C have as rightful a claim to A. If mere possession invests in the possessor a right to property, every thing which comes into my possession no matter how, when, or where, is mine and thus your watch loaned me to inform me of the time, becomes mine the moment my hands enclose it.

I may possess myself of any thing by producing it through the labor of my hands—purchase it by giving an equivalent, borrow it for transient use, find it in the road, field or my neighbors house, steal it privately or rob another of it forcibly, and in either case, if this proposition be correct it becomes rightfully mine. Evidently this second claim is as groundless as the first. But says the objector, the master has bought the slave and paid his money for him. Now if the mere fact of payment of money gives a right to property, independent of any right in the seller thus to dispose of it, I may sell to you my neighbors horse, and he becomes rightfully yours, because you have paid me your money for him. Your right to him does not arise out of the fact that I transferred to you a right to him, for I had no such right to transfer; but simply because you paid me for him. It is universally admitted that no person can convey to another, a right which he does not possess in himself, and hence this proposition is shewn to be without foundation.

3. The law declares the slave to be the property of the master. It is true that statutory enactments in this country make this declaration. But what is statute or municipal law? A municipal law says Blackstone, "is a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the Supreme power in the State." Next arises the question what is a State! That governments are established among men for the protection of rights deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, is a truth which cannot be made more clear by argument. If a State or Government prescribes a rule, and by that rule declares me to be the property of another, enforces it, and enables another to hold me as a slave against my will (unless the 4th proposition proves true,) it exercises unjust powers. This is power exercised not to protect rights, but to violate them, it is might, without and against right, and cannot be regarded as any thing more than an association of individuals, whose combined powers are employed in acts of violence and wrong, and whose enactments therefore cannot truly be termed law. Hence they must be regarded as any other associations of men, whose power is employed in the perpetration of wrong and outrage, and no more entitled to claim that their government is Divinely established, than are bands of robbers, or nations of pirates. God never established any thing in opposition to his own laws, hence that government which is Divinely established, acts in accordance with the laws of God, and not in opposition to them. All the rights of which we are possessed are conferred upon us by our Creator. Human beings possess no others. If individuals possess any rights, one of them must be the right of the individual to the proceeds of his own labor. Another may transfer to me the right to any thing which belongs to him, and I thus obtain a conventional right thereto; that is a right by agreement. Governments may convey the right to any thing which belongs to them, but they can confer no others. If they could, it would be because they

possess creative powers; not having these, they can confer no rights but such as are conventional. They cannot take away rights, yet they can prevent the exercise and enjoyment of them. While the law cannot give another the right to me, or any thing I possess, those who frame and execute those enactments termed law, may dispossess me of that which is by right mine, and put it into the possession of another, in violation of my right to it. Were the converse of this true, if governments can give to others a right to my property against my consent, the Algerine government which authorised piracy, and regulated the possession of stolen goods, and captured persons, conveyed a perfect right in these to its citizens, and they were legally and honorably employed in preying upon your merchandise, upon the high seas and in reducing to servitude yourselves, your wives and little ones. And the government of the United States may convey a perfect right to the persons of all those who came from England, or Germany to America, with all the property they have accumulated, to the remainder of the population of the country or to any individual thereof. Viewed thus, in its consequences, the falsity of the third proposition is as apparent as that of those which preceded it.

If the slave be the property of the master, then it is through the truth of the 4th proposition, viz: God has conferred upon the master a right to him. Many assert that Slavery is an institution of God.

President Shannon, of Bacon College, Kentucky, a Campbellite preacher, says:

"Thus did Jehovah STEREOTYPE HIS APPROBATION OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY, *by incorporating it with the institutions of the Jewish religion, the only religion on earth that had the Divine sanction.*"

The Rev. William Graham, of the New School Presbyterian Church, published a pamphlet, in which he says, see page 22, "The relation of master and slave is a part of the laws of Jehovah;" and again, on page 35, he declares that "Christ authorized the relation in the charter of the church and in all the laws ever made for the regulation of the church."

Mr. Graham stated before his synod that his teachings on the subject of Slavery differed but little from many living ministers opposed to the doctrines and measures of Abolitionists.

Mr. Graham has since been deposed.

Rev. Alexander McCain a preacher of the Protestant Methodist Church, made a speech in their general conference, held in Baltimore, in 1842, in support of the Divinity of Slavery, and afterwards published a pamphlet on the same subject, which called forth an approbatory letter from John C. Calhoun.

Of which the following is an extract.

"MY DEAR SIR—I have read with pleasure your pamphlet, entitled, 'Slavery defended from the Scriptures against abolitionists.'

"You have fully and ably made good that title. You have shown, beyond all controversy, that slavery is sanctioned both by the Old and New Testament. He who denies it, if not blinded by fanaticism, must be a hypocrite."—*Extract of a letter, addressed by John C. Calhoun to Rev. A. McCain, of Methodist P. Church, on occasion of the reception of his pamphlet in favor of Slavery.*

But testimony of this kind is unnecessary, it is a matter of almost universal notoriety, that a large majority of the professors of religion, in this country, sanction and uphold the system, and very many throw off all disguise and claim for it a Divine sanction.

SLAVERY,

AND THE SLAVE-HOLDER'S RELIGION.

SEC. 1.—*What is Slavery?—What is a Slave?*

The Statutes of the slave peopled regions declare "A Slave is one in the power of a master, to whom he belongs." He is a person, a human being, created in the image of his Maker, but claimed and held as an article of property. Subjected to the will, whim and caprice of another human being like himself; he is restrained of his liberty, and his life is in the power of his master. He is not permitted to exercise his own will, in opposition to his master, and to be governed by his own convictions of right and propriety, but must submit to the decisions of his master in all respects. In short he is a person held in a condition which forbids the exercise of any volition of his own, of employing except by consent of his master, any of the God given rights of Humanity, and therefore, if slavery be right, the slave does not in common with other members of the human family possess any rights, but these have been withheld from him by the Creator. The rights conferred upon us by an Omnipotent and all-wise Creator are all compatible with each other. If this be not true, if the rights of human beings conflict, then discord instead of harmony prevails throughout the laws and government of God. The master having the right to subject the slave to his will, and to decide for him, the slave can have no right to exercise a will, and decide for himself, because if he has that right it conflicts with the rights of the master; consequently God has withheld from the slave the right of volition, and deciding for himself. The master having the right to deprive his slave of liberty, the latter has no right to liberty. As the master has a right to the earnings of the slave, the slave has no right to earn for himself. The master having the right to separate the slave from his wife,

the slave has no right to a wife, or to remain with her.—The master having the right to take the life of the slave, if necessary to proceed to that extremity to enforce obedience, and as it will be shown hereafter that he cannot hold the slave without exercising a power over his life, the slave has no right to life, but retains it only by permission. The possession of a right necessarily includes the right to employ it, and in the exercise of all our rights we never interfere with the rights of others. If we do thus interfere it is because we are doing that which we have no right to do. That is not a right which we may not exercise. We have seen that if slavery is right, it has the Divine sanction, for nothing which has it not, is right. Hence it follows that some have a right to enslave, to hold others as slaves, and having that right they have also the additional one, to employ such means as are necessary to effect the object. If the master have not the right to do all that is necessary to hold him, to employ all the means that are requisite, he can have no right to him. The right to the end, involves of necessity the right to employ all the means necessary to attain the end.

The objector may alledge that the master has a right to his apprentice, and therefore a right to use the necessary means of holding him, but in this instance the right is to the service only. By contract he agrees to render an equivalent for these services, which equivalent is a measure of instruction in his art or handicraft, and subsistence for the learner during the period specified. Although the law allows the master to compel the service of the apprentice, by limited coercion, it holds the person of the latter sacred, and should the apprentice be maimed or his life taken by the master he will be punished just as if he had injured to the same extent another person. The apprentice has an inducement to remain with and serve the master, but the slave has no inducement, unless deluded into a belief that he is under obligations to serve him. The right to hold and control an apprentice is limited and qualified. The power assumed over the slave is absolute, and unrestricted in fact, or he could not be retained in bondage.

The means employed to reduce a man to slavery, and thus to hold him, are either to convince him he is under an obligation to serve his claimant—to be his slave, or to compel him by force to servitude, or a combination of both of these methods. The master in order to hold him, practices upon his fears of visible or invisible terrors. Some

define slavery to be an obligation upon the part of one to labor for another, and an obligation on the part of him who receives the service, to provide for the one rendering it. If this obligation be not acknowledged, coercive measures become necessary. To obtain the mastery over him, force must be employed, the means adapted to the end. Slaves are held by associated power, as in order to keep men in slavery, if not inclined to acknowledge the obligation to servitude, they must be guarded on all sides. A single individual could not hold one slave (much less five, ten or one hundred,) without assistance, as he would inevitably escape, since the master could not always watch him. Associated power is therefore necessary. Slaveholding communities enact and enforce laws, in reference to slaves. The members of such a community mutually agree to be governed by such laws or rules, and to assist each other to enforce them. When the law declares a man to be my slave, if this law can be, and is enforced, I have him placed in my power, and those who enforce it, stand as guards upon the hill-tops, in the valleys and by the way-side. If I can convince him he is under an obligation to serve me, the end is effected, but if I cannot, I have a right to his services notwithstanding my failure, and must then invoke force as the only alternative. If he refuse to obey me, I apply the whip or the bludgeon to his back, or unsheathing a dirk brandish its glittering edge before his eyes. Still scorning to be a slave, and no one else being in sight to assist, he leaves my presence. To stop his flight I point my gun, and threaten to shoot him down unless he returns and surrenders himself to my will, convinced that I am authorized by you who enacted the law, to take his life if needful, to restrain his pursuit of liberty, and that I will execute my threat, his love of life, or fear of the consequences of disobedience after death, (for upon this point we may have instilled doubts into his mind) prevails, and he returns to my authority. Next I tie him to the whipping post and punish him severely, as each act of disobedience must be met by adequate punishment, to compel submission, or I brand the initials of my name with the iron hissing into his flesh, to inform others that he is my slave, and thus preclude his attempts at escape, or crop his ears that he may be known by my flesh marks, or place an iron collar upon his neck, or manacles upon his limbs, and thus drive him to labor. By these means and by assuring him, that the whole community is upon my side, and against him,

I succeed for the present, and perhaps for a life-time.— That the entire nation, North as well as South, professors of religion as well as politicians, with the exception of a small number of Abolitionists, who believe slaveholding to be criminal in the highest degree, and hence have withdrawn from the slaveholding compact, does thus stand arrayed against the slave the following testimony will demonstrate.

Says the Editor of the Marysville (Tenn.) Intelligencer, in an article on the character and condition of the slave population:—

“We of the South are emphatically surrounded by a dangerous class of beings—degraded stupid savages—who, if they could but once entertain the idea that immediate and unconditional death would not be their portion, would re-act the St. Domingo tragedy. But the consciousness, with all their stupidity, that a ten-fold force, superior in discipline, if not in barbarity, would gather from the four corners of the United States, and slaughter them. keeps them in subjection. *But, to the non-slaveholding States, particularly, we are indebted for a permanent safeguard against insurrection.* Without their assistance, the white population of the South would be too weak to quiet that innate desire for liberty which is ever ready to act itself out with every rational creature.

In the debate in Congress on the resolution to censure John Quincy Adams, for presenting a petition for the dissolution of the Union, Mr. Underwood of Kentucky, made the following statement, In speaking of the effect of a repeal of the Union on Slavery, Mr. U. said:

“They (the South) were the weaker portion, were in the minority. The North could do what they pleased with them; they could adopt their own measures. All he asked was, that they would let the South know what those measures were.— One thing he knew well; that the State which he in part represented, had perhaps a deeper interest in this subject than any other, except Maryland and a small portion of Virginia. And why? Because he knew, that to dissolve the Union, and separate the different States composing this confederacy, making the Ohio river, and Mason and Dickson’s line the boundary line, he knew as soon as that was done, *slavery was done* in Kentucky, Maryland, and a large portion of Virginia, and it would extend to all the States south of this line. *The dissolution of the Union was the dissolution of Slavery.* It had been the common practice for Southern men to get up on this floor, and say, ‘Touch this subject, and we will dissolve this Union as a remedy.’ Their remedy was the destruction of the thing

which they wished to save, and any sensible man could see it. If the Union were dissolved into two parts, the slave would cross the line, and then turn round and curse his master from the other shore.'

This declaration of Mr. Underwood as to the entire dependence of the slave-masters on the citizens of the nominally free States to guard their plantations, and secure them against desertion, is substantially confirmed by Thos. D. Arnold, of Tennessee, who, in a speech on the same subject, assures us that they are equally dependent on the North for *personal protection* against their slaves. In assigning his reasons for adhering to the Union, Mr. Arnold makes use of the following language:—

"The free States had now a majority of 44 in that house. Under the new census, they would have 53. The cause of the slaveholding States was getting weaker and weaker—and what were they to do? He would ask his Southern friends what the South had to rely on, if the Union were dissolved? Suppose the dissolution could be peaceably effected, (if that did not involve a contradiction in terms,) what had the South to depend upon? *All the crowned heads were against her. A million of slaves were ready to rise, and strike for freedom at the first tap of the drum.* They were cut loose from their friends at the North, (friends that ought to be, and without them the South had no friends,) *whither were they to look for protection?* How were they to sustain an assault from England, or France, with that cancer at their vitals? The more the South reflected, the more clearly she must see that she has a deep and vital interest in maintaining the Union."

The Union of the States (and the establishment of a General Government) is a compact or an agreement entered into by those who are parties to that union and members of the government. These have vested in the National Legislature a power to suppress insurrections, and each member of that Legislature, before he can enter upon the duties of his office, is required to swear that he will exercise that power whenever it shall become necessary.

They have also agreed with each other that through the agency of the Federal Government, they will protect each of the States against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Thus the entire power of the General Government is pledged to crush the slave should he refuse to obey his master, (a power which has been exercised in several in-

stances) or to repel the invader who might land upon the shores of America and offer the boon of freedom to the slave.

The parties to the government in their organic Laws, also agree that the Slave held to service and labor, in any one State of the Union, should he escape into another, shall at all times be subject to be claimed by his master and dragged back to bondage. In addition to this constitutional arrangement, Congress passed a law in 1793 prescribing the manner of arresting and returning fugitive slaves, which law is in force at this date.

But should not all the perils which surround him by night and by day, the visible and invisible terrors which he has been assured await him, the severe punishments which he has suffered, the fact within his knowledge that the law, its executors, and the people are arrayed against him to compel submission, and the dreadful certainty that still more severe punishments are in reserve for him, should he rebel or attempt to escape;—if the tyrant has not succeeded in reducing sufficiently low the irrepressible love of liberty in his victim, and in extinguishing the last spark of hope in his bosom, the period may arrive when circumstances shall fan it into a flame, and enable him to attempt by flight to escape from the thralldom to which he has been subjected. To recover him, such means as the following, are then considered to be necessary. The advertisements which follow, be it observed, are all taken from Southern newspapers.

“Ranaway, a negro woman and two children; a few days before she went off, *I burnt her with a hot iron*, on the left side of her face, *I tried to make the letter M.*”

Mr. Micajah Ricks, Nash County, North Carolina, in the Raleigh “Standard,” July 18, 1838.

“Ranaway, Mary, a black woman, has a scar on her back and right arm near the shoulder, *caused by a rifle ball.*”

Mr. Asa B. Metcalf, Kingston, Adams County, Mi. in the “Natchez Courier,” June 15, 1832.

Ranaway, a negro man named Henry, *his left eye out* some scars from a *dirk* on and under his left arm, and *much scarred* with the whip.”

Mr. William Overstreet, Benton, Yazoo County, Mi. in the “Lexington (Ky.) Observer,” July 22, 1838.

One hundred dollars reward for a negro fellow Pompey, 40 years old, he is *branded* on the *left jaw*.

Mr. R. P. Carney, Clark Co., Ala., in the Mobile Register, Dec. 22, 1832.

"Ranaway, my negro man named Simon, he *has been shot badly* in his back and right arm."

Mr. Nicholas Edmunds, in the "Petersburgh [Va.] Intelligencer," May 22, 1838.

"Fifty dollars reward, for the negro Jim Blake—has a *piece cut out of each ear* and the middle finger of the left hand *cut off* to the second joint."

The editor of the New Orleans "Bee," in that paper, Aug. 27, 1837.

Ranaway, my man Fountain—has *holes in his ears*, a scar on the right side of his forehead—has been *shot in the hind parts of his legs*,—is marked on the back with the whip."

Mr. Robert Beasley, Macon, Georgia, in the "Georgia Messenger," July 27, 1837.

Ranaway, the negro boy Teams—he had on his neck an *iron collar*."

Mr. Lambre, in the "Natchitoches (La.) Herald," March 29, 1837.

"Ranaway, Jim—had on when he escaped a pair of *chain handcuffs*."

Mr. Wm. L. Lambeth, Lynchburg, Virginia, in the "Moulton [Ala.] Whig," January 30, 1836.

"Ranaway, a negro named Hambleton, *limps* on his left foot where he was *shot* a few weeks ago, while runaway."

Mr. Thomas Hudnall, Madison county, Mi., in the "Vicksburg Register," Sept. 5, 1838.

"Stolen, a negro named Winter—has a *notch* cut out of the left ear, and the mark of *four or five buck shot* on his legs."

Mr. James Marks, near Natchitoches, La., in the "Natchitoches Herald," July 21, 1838.

"Ranaway, Bill—has *several* LARGE SCARS on his back from a *severe* whipping in *early* life,"

Mr. John Wotton, Rockville, Montgomery county, Maryland, in the "Baltimore Republican," Jan. 13, 1838.

"Ranaway, the negro Hown—has a ring of iron on his left foot. Also, Grise, his wife, having a *ring and chain* on the left leg."

Mr. Charles Curcner, New Orleans, in the "Bee," July 2, 1838.

"Twenty Dollars Reward. Ranaway from the subscriber, on the 14th instant, a negro girl named Molly. She is 16 or 17 years of age, slim made, LATELY BRANDED ON THE LEFT CHEEK, THUS R. AND A PIECE TAKEN OFF OF HER EAR ON THE SAME SIDE; THE SAME LETTER ON THE INSIDE OF BOTH HER LEGS."

ABNER ROSS, Fairfield District, S. C.

The poor fugitive, successful in eluding pursuit, by those acquainted with his person, is still surrounded by dangers as great as those from which he has escaped. The conspiracy against his liberty extends as far as to the utmost limit of the territory of this Union, and spies are abroad, and watch dogs on his track, though far away from the individual who lays claim to his services. The following advertisements also taken from American newspapers are in evidence of these facts.

NOTICE.—Was committed to the jail of Jackson county, Missississippi, the 24th day of September, 1845, the runaway slave, NANCY. She is 22 or 25 years old, in a pregnant condition, severely whip-marked. Said Nancy says she belongs to one William Rogers, living near Paulding Jasper county, Miss. Had on, when committed, a white frock.

A. E. LEWIS, *Jailor.*

October 18, 1845.

"Was committed to jail, a negro named Ambrose—has a *ring of iron around his neck.*"

William Dyer, sheriff, Claibone, Louisiana, in the "Herald," Natchitoches, (La.) July 26, 1837.

"Committed to Jail, a negro named Patrick, about 45 years old, and is *handcuffed.*"

H. W. Rice, Sheriff, Colleton district, South Carolina, in the "Charleston Mercury," Sept. 1, 1838.

"Committed to jail, a negro—had on his right leg an *iron band* with one link of a chain."

W. P. Reeves, jailor, Shelby county, Tennessee in the "Memphis, Enquirer," June 17, 1837.

"Was committed to jail, a negro boy—had on a *large neck iron* with a *huge pair of horns and a large bar or band of iron* on his left leg."

H. Gridley, sheriff of Adams county, Mi., in the "Memphis (Ten.) Times," Sept. 1834.

"Committed to jail, a negro boy named John, about 17 years old—his back *badly marked* with the *whip*, his upper lip and chin *severely bruised.*"

John H. Hand, jailor, parish of West Feliciana, La., in the "St. Francisville Journal," July 6, 1837.

"Was committed to jail, a negro man—has *two scars* on his forehead, and the *top of his left ear cut off.*

D. Herring, warden of Baltimore city jail, in the "Marylander," Oct. 6, 1837.

"NOTICE.—Was committed to the jail of Washington County, *District of Columbia*, as a runaway, a negro woman by the name

of Polly Leiper, and her *infant* child William, * * * Says she was set free by John Campbell of Richmond, Va., in 1818 or 1819. The owner of the above described *woman* and *child*, if any, are requested to come and prove them, and take them away; or they will be SOLD FOR THEIR JAIL FEES, AND OTHER EXPENSES, AS THE LAW DIRECTS.

"May 19, 1827.

TENCH RINGGOLD, Marshall."

RUNAWAY NEGRO TAKEN.

On the first of November I took up a runaway, and *for want of a jail*, PUT HIM IN IRONS, and shall endeavor to keep him on my plantation, on the Mississippi river, five miles from Randolph. The negro says he belongs to Mr. Algon Smith, about 60 miles above Louisville, but he does not know the county or the nearest town, in consequence of never having lived with his master; that about two years ago, Smith bought him in Maryland, since then he has been constantly hired out; that he has worked at Little Sandy Salt Works, that his name is Squire. He is full six feet high, well made, and is strong and active, but stoops a little forward as he walks; is about 30 years old. He had on when I took him, a strong cotton shirt, linsey (white) pantaloons, black tabby velvet vest, and blanket coat. He lost his hat and bundle in the cane *while running from my dogs*. He is a negro of good countenance; black, though not what would be considered very black: has two small scars on his face, one on his forehead, and one over the right eye, neither of which would be noticed unless closely examined. N. ROSS, "Randolph, Tipton co., Tennessee."—*Louisville Journal, Ky.*

To aid the keen pursuit, individuals make it a regular business to train dogs to follow upon the scent as the following testimony will fully prove:

MINISTERS, HOUNDS, AND RUNAWAY NEGROES.

The Home Missionary of the Alabama Association writing to the Alabama Baptist, on the subject of ministerial support, attributes the unwillingness of the people to support their preachers, in part to the teaching of the anti-missionary ministers. And he represents one of these riding through the country with a train of about twenty hounds and with a brace of pistols, and a bowie knife projecting out of his pocket, showing a handle which would make a bludgeon, as his informant told him, "large enough to kill the d——l, and thus fully armed and equipped, he makes his excursions, *hunting runaway negroes*,"—*Christian Polititian*.

The Missionary of the Alabama Association goes on to say:—"While it may be right and proper that some one should keep such dogs, and follow such avocation, we think it does not fitly become the ambassadors of Christ. Let the churches then awake to the subject of *ministerial support*."

MEN HUNTED BY DOGS!—A late number of the Sumter Co.

Whig, published at Livingston, Alabama, contains the following atrocious advertisement—proving, what is notoriously true, that it is a regular business at the South to train dogs to catch negroes, and to let them out by the day or job, to hunt the poor runaways in the swamps and forests! The advertisement is copied precisely as it appears in the Whig. Read it, men and women of the North!

NEGRO DOGS.

The undersigned having bought the entire pack of Negro Dogs, (of the Hays' & Allen stock) he now proposes to catch runaway Negroes. His charge will be Three Dollars per day for hunting, and Fifteen Dollars for catching a runaway. He resides 3½ miles North of Livingston, near the lower Jones' Bluff road.

WILLIAM GAMBREL.

Nov. 6, 1845,

If supposed to be gone past recovery, or to be actuated by an indomitable love of liberty, which forbids a hope of pecuniary profit from the attempt to secure again his services, to wreak revenge upon the rebellious one, and put an end to the enjoyment of his existence, and also to deter by such sanguinary measures, all those who remain in bondage, from attempting a similar escape, a proclamation of outlawry from the civil magistrates may be resorted to, of which the following is a specimen as it appeared in the public papers.

Judge Stroud remarks:

"That a proclamation of outlawry against a slave is authorized, whenever he runs away from his master, conceals himself in some obscure retreat, and to sustain life, kills a *hog*, or some animal of the cattle kind!!" See Haywood's Manual, 521; act of 1741, ch. 24, Sec. 45.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
Lenoir County. }

"Whereas complaint hath been this day made to us, two of the justices of the peace for the said county, by William D. Cobb, of Jones county, that two negro slaves belonging to him named Ben, commonly known by the name of Ben Fox, and Rigdon, have absented themselves from their said master's service, and are lurking about in the counties of Lenoir and Jones, committing acts of felony;—these are in the name of the state, to command the said slaves forthwith to surrender themselves, and turn home to their said master. And we do hereby also require the sheriff of said county of Lenoir to make diligent search and pursuit after the above mentioned slaves; and them having found, to apprehend and secure so that they may be conveyed to their said master, or otherwise discharged as the law directs. And the said sheriff is hereby empowered to

raise and take with him such power of his county as he shall think fit for the apprehension of said slaves. And we do hereby, by virtue of an act of Assembly of this state, concerning servants and slaves, intimate and declare, if the said slaves do not surrender themselves, and return home to their masters immediately after the publication of these presents, that any person may kill or destroy said slaves by such means as he or they think fit, without accusation or impeachment of any crime or offence for so doing, or without incurring any penalty or forfeiture thereby.

"Given under our hands and seals, this 12th of November, 1836.

B. COLEMAN, J. P. [Seal.]
JAS. JONES, J. P. [Seal.]

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.—Ranaway from the subscriber, about three years ago, a certain negro man named Ben, commonly known by the name of Ben Fox, also, one other negro, by the name of Rigdon, who ran away on the 8th of this month.

I will give the reward of one hundred dollars for each of the above negroes to be delivered to me or confined in the jail of Lenoir or Jones county, or for the *killing* of them so that I can see them.

W. D. COBB.

November 12, 1836.

The Wilmington [North Carolina] Advertiser, of July 13, 1838, contains the following advertisement:

"Ranaway, my negro man Richard. A reward of \$25 will be paid for his apprehension, DEAD or ALIVE. Satisfactory proof will only be required of his being killed. He has with him, in all probability, his wife Eliza, who ran away from Col. Thompson, now a resident of Alabama, about the time he commenced his journey to that state.

D. H. RHODES."

In the Macon [Georgia] Telegraph, May 28, is the following:—

"About the 1st of March last, the negro man Ransom, left me without the least provocation whatever. I will give a reward of 20 dollars for said negro, if taken dead or alive!—and if killed in any attempt, an advance of \$5 will be paid.

BRYANT JOHNSON."

Crawford County, Ga.

Thus is the slave hunted; should he surrender, he is bound in fetters, placed in a dungeon, and scourged until it is believed his spirits are broken, and his love of liberty subdued, so that no farther attempts to escape need be feared. Refusing to yield to his pursuers, he is shot down in cold blood, and perishes. Without this power over his

life he could not be controled. It will be seen hereafter that to this extent it is exercised, and that the master is indemnified by law against any penal consequences whatever for employing it, under all circumstances wherein the slave rebels against, or refuses obedience to his authority. It must be evident that he could not be retained in bondage unless the master possessed this control over his life, or sufficient power over his intellect to induce the belief that his state of servitude was rightful, and the best for him. When your constables or your sheriffs pursue an alledged criminal they go clothed with this same power over life. If the person to be arrested resists, this power is occasionally employed, and the officer using it is held indemnified. The same degree of power is authorised to be employed over the convicts in your jails and penitentiaries. Why do you place guards upon the walls of these receptacles of crime, doubly armed? Why when these convicts are taken outside of the walls, for the purpose of labor, do armed men accompany them, always prepared to sacrifice life if resistance or escape be attempted? Is this array of death dealing instruments intended only for the purpose of intimidation, or will they not be employed in a case of real or imagined necessity? They could have no influence to intimidate, were it not known and understood of all, convicts and others, that under certain circumstances they will be employed. Thus do a few men by their control over the lives of many convicts, retain them in submission to authority. So too with the slaves who greatly outnumber their claimants. They are held in servitude by a power over life and limb, which they know will be employed. The slave feels that the threatening array of arms, the nightly patrols, the troops of the government and all the other paraphernalia of power exhibited to his view are not idle preparations and they intimidate only through the certainty they will be exercised upon him if he refuses submission, and that short of this he has no security of life. He is made to feel that on this side of the grave he has no helper to flee to for protection or support. Slaveholders do not scruple to affirm this to the world.

Judge Ruffin, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in one of his judicial decisions says:

“The slave, to remain a slave, must feel that there is *no appeal from his master*. No man can anticipate the provocations which the slave would give; nor the consequent wrath of the master

prompting him to bloody vengeance on the turbulent traitor, a vengeance generally practiced with impunity by reason of its privacy."—*See Wheeler's Law of Slavery, p. 247.*

This is Slavery. Such means are absolutely necessary, and such only are adequate to subjugate the man—to uphold the system. There are tendencies in the human bosom which struggle upward in rebellion against restraint and arbitrary power. Like the eagle, whose tireless pinion bears him upward, and still upward, in his ascending flight, regardless of the pressure of hurricane, or storm,

"Who loves to see his eyrie seat—
Some cliff on ocean's lonely shore,
Whose old bare-top the tempests beat,
And round whose base the billows roar,
When lashed by gales, they yawn like graves.
He loves for joy to skim those waves,
Or rise through tempest-shrouded air
All thick and dark with wild winds swelling,
To brave the lurid lightning's glare,
And talk with thunders in their dwelling;
Or still his fearless flight to wing,
Above the tempest's darksome height
Till sunbeams to his pinions cling,
And clouds beneath, grow grand and bright."

As with the eagle, so with man. He loves to look upon the bright day and the stormy night. To gaze upon the broad free ocean—its eternal surging tides—its mountain billows—and its foam-crested waves. To tread the steep mountain side; to sail upon the placid river; to wander along the gurgling stream—to trace the sunny slope—the beautiful landscape—the majestic forest, or the flowery mead—to hear the roar of waters, the bellowing of the tempest—the howling of the winds, the music of the birds, the hum of insects. He feels that he is endowed with intellectual powers—a capacity to perceive—to appreciate and to admire the terrific—the grand—the magnificent—the beautiful.—He is sensible of being created with a social nature, formed both to give and receive enjoyment in society—of longings after earthly perfectability—of constant wellings up from the inmost depths of his soul, and of a gushing forth of the affections of his heart after that which is beautiful and true. He sympathises with the sufferer, and is eager to afford relief, and over and above all, he experiences those upward aspirations towards revealed excellence, alluring him towards an Infinite Being, a consciousness that he

owes a duty to him, the author of his existence, the giver of laws by which, in order to be happy he must be governed, rather than to tyrant man, who assumes the prerogative, and usurps the authority of God. And he believes that by performing that duty; by living in obedience to these laws, he will have begun a work of progression, that will carry him on still improving; still advancing throughout the endless ages of eternity, until he reaches a point somewhere between the present position of the highest archangel, and the throne of the Eternal. Such is man. He will be free unless enslaved by the most gross perversion of his faculties, or the employment of the most stringent measures to awe him, and subdue.

If slavery be right, all the appliances and means necessary for holding men in subjugation, must also be right.—The system cannot be right, if the means and the only means, by which it can exist, are wrong. If you condemn the horrible practices, the hellish barbarities, which the foregoing pages exhibit, as the measures relied upon by the slaveholders to perpetuate their power, then you condemn slavery, for there can be no effect without a cause, and there is no cause of sufficient power to reduce man to slavery, save these which have been presented. Alexander Campbell in common with many others, assumes the ground that the relation of master and slave is right; it is the abuses only of the relation which are wrong. With the grossly ignorant, dispirited and crushed slave, Mr. Campbell may possibly succeed in establishing the belief that the relation is right, to such an one he may preach that he owes a religious duty to God through obedience to his master, and that he will be eternally punished for violating it; he may hold out the promise of salvation, to one whose intellect is stultified; whose moral perceptions are blunted; whose mind is wrapped in midnight darkness and gloom; who has been robbed of the power of discriminating between right and wrong, who has been rendered unable to know any thing or comprehend any thing of the attributes of God, on condition that he will be obedient to his master, and add to this the threat of eternal punishment in a future world if he refuses; and possibly they may induce him to sustain that relation; but Mr. Campbell can never reason *himself*, nor any person who has enjoyed the sweets of liberty, into the belief that *he* ought to be a slave. Until such an one can be induced to believe that it would be right that himself should stand in that relation, it is sheer nonsense to alledge

that slavery is right, but that the means which have been employed to sustain it are wrong. Mr. Campbell's own feelings and instincts would forbid him to sustain it, even tho' in the attempt to escape, death, with its after terrors, should threaten him upon the one hand, the handcuff; the iron collar; the chain; the blood-stained cowhide; the dog; the gun; and the dungeon assail him upon the other.

It is frequently remarked with a show of truth, that self-interest will prevent the master from using unnecessary severity, for should his slave be disabled, it is to his pecuniary loss. We have already seen that nothing short of complete power over the life of the slave is adequate, to restrain him. The laws of the slave States attempt to designate what is necessary violence to the slave, to insure his subjection, and what is wilful violence, which may be punished in the perpetrator. Let us examine what degree of submission they require of the slave, and what amount of severity they tolerate and uphold in the master.

The following laws are principally copied from Judge Stroud's Sketch of the Slave Laws.

According to the law of Louisiana, "A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but what must belong to his master." *Civil Code, art. 35.*

Louisiana has the following express law:

"The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master, and to all who *represent* him, is not susceptible of any modification or restriction, (except in what can incite the slave to the commission of crime,) in such manner, that he owes to his master and to all his family a respect without bounds and an absolute obedience, and he is consequently to execute all the orders which he receives from him, his said master, or from them." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 616.

In South Carolina it is expressed in the following language:

"Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and judged in law to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever. 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229.

A slave cannot bring a suit against his master or any other person for an injury. His master may bring an action against a third person for an injury of his property. But this is a poor protection of the slave; for, first, it

weakens the motive of the master to protect the slave.— If the injury were to come upon his own pocket he would be more careful to prevent it. Secondly the master can recover nothing, unless the injury deteriorates the value— which it may not do, although in itself very great. The Supreme Court of Maryland has decided:

“There must be, a loss of service, or at least, a diminution of the faculty of the slave for bodily labor, to warrant an action by the master.” 1 *Harris and Johnson's Reports*, 4. *Cornfute vs. Dale*.

North Carolina has the following law :

Be it enacted, &c. That if any person shall hereafter be guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave, such offender shall, upon the first conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of murder, and shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a free man; *Provided always, this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of assembly of this state, or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, OR TO ANY SLAVE DYING UNDER MODERATE CORRECTION.*” *Haywood's Manual*, 530; and see *Laws of Tennessee*, act of Oct. 23, 1799, with a like proviso.

The Constitution of Georgia has the following: Art. 4, Sec. 12.

“Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection of such slave, and unless SUCH DEATH SHOULD HAPPEN BY ACCIDENT IN GIVING SUCH SLAVE MODERATE CORRECTION.” *Prince's Digest*, 559.

The following *protection* for the limbs of the slave has been in force, in South Carolina from 1740 to the present time:

“In case any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or *cruelly* scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, or shall inflict *any other cruel punishment, other than by whipping or beating* with a horsewhip, cow-skin, switch, or small stick, or by putting irons on, or confining or imprisoning such slave, every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money.” 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

All of the Laws that restrict the master's power are based upon the assumption that the slave submits to him; but the following Laws in connection with the foregoing, prove that the Slave Laws do not profess to afford even the shad-

no of any protection even to the slave's life, unless he yields implicit obedience.

"If any slave shall *happen* to be slain for refusing to surrender him or herself, contrary to law, or in unlawful resisting any officer or *other person*, who shall apprehend or endeavor to apprehend, such slave or slaves, &c., such officer or *other person so killing such slave as aforesaid*, making resistance, shall be, and he is by this act, *indemnified* from any prosecution for such killing aforesaid, &c." *Maryland Laws, act of 1751, chap. 14, sec. 9.*

And by the negro act of 1740, of South Carolina, it is declared,

"If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation wheresuch slave shall live, or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slave, shall *refuse to submit* to undergo the examination of *any white person*, it shall be lawful for such white person to pursue, apprehend and moderately correct such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be *lawfully killed*. 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 231.

The following extract is taken from an address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky by a committee of the Synod of Kentucky, signed by John Brown, Esq., Chairman, John C. Young, Secretary.

"Not only has the slave no right to his wife and children, he has no right even to himself. His very body, his muscles, his bones, his flesh, are all the property of another. The movements of his limbs are regulated by the will of a master. He may be sold, like a beast of the field—he may be transported, in chains, like a felon.

It is obviously our duty to assist each other in the protection of person and property. When your house is in flames, as you will be a sufferer from its destruction, it is most certainly my duty to assist in extinguishing those flames. If slavery is right, my right to my slave being equal to your right to your house, and as I will suffer in consequence of his rebelling against me, or absconding, it is evidently as much your duty to assist me to hold the slave, as it is mine to assist you to preserve your house.—That religion which stands opposed to the principles and doctrines of the abolitionists, and wages a warfare upon them, has originated a public sentiment which has written itself out in the laws heretofore quoted. This public sentiment is consistent with the religion which engenders it, in this respect also, that it acknowledges the claims of the

master to assistance in preserving his authority, and renders that assistance accordingly. The fugitive slave is surrendered to his master by authority of the constitution. The rebellious slave is chastised by the authority of law, until his submission is obtained. On many occasions the troops of the government have been employed in aiding the master, and the armies and navy of the nation, are carefully stationed where they will be most useful in subserving this purpose. The master as we have already seen, declares that he cannot sustain himself in that relation, without this assistance, and every one who remains a member of this slaveholding government, who consents to the compact which creates it a nation, however averse he may be to do so, has a part actively in the continuance of slavery. Besides by other means, he does it in the person of his agent, who in the capacity of a soldier of the United States, is posted with loaded musket, and fixed bayonet a sentinel on the ramparts of slavery. Public sentiment acknowledges the claim of the master for aid and thus it is rendered.

The master having a right of property in the slave, he has a right to sell him, which no circumstances can impair. Helpless parents, wife or children, unable to protect and sustain themselves he may have, but the master's claim of property is paramount to the claims of these upon him, and he may be sold rightfully at any moment. John C. Calhoun, it is said, sold to a Southern planter for a concubine, the wife of his coachman, for the sum of \$1400. Deacon Whitfield an extra pious professor of the slave holding religion, of the Baptist denomination, it is believed sold the wife of Henry Bibb, and she is now the kept concubine of a French planter. Granting for the sake of the argument, as heretofore, that the right to property in a slave exists, no right was violated by these men in thus disposing of their property, and Deacon Whitfield may continue to besiege his God with prayer and petition, as consistently as before, for a blessing upon all that he is, does, and possesses.

SEC. 2.—A conclusion which follows upon those already adduced from the premises, viz: that the slave is the master's property; a conclusion that no one can with any show of reason dissent from, is, if the master has a right to the slave, the slave *owes* a duty to the master. This cannot be otherwise, as I cannot have a right to a slave

and his services, if he has the right to withhold from me those services. Every thing I have a right to, belongs to me, not to another. His services belong to me, not to himself, and hence it is his duty to render them. Rights never conflict with rights, or duties with duties; rights with duties, or duties with rights, but all harmonise. If I have a right to the slave, he can have no rights incompatible with this of mine. The person who refuses to perform his duty is a sinner. The sinner cannot avoid the consequences of sinning; he incurs the Divine displeasure, and must meet it. Hence as it is the duty of the slave to obey and serve his master, it becomes the duty of the minister, the religious teacher, to instruct and enlighten him in regard to this duty, and to inform him of the consequences of disobedience. The slave, has an immortal soul. It depends upon his conduct here, whether that soul shall be happy or miserable. It is the duty of the minister to enlighten him upon the consequences of disobedience to the master, of those never ending torments which are allotted to the wicked; that the "hope which springs eternal in the human breast," which transports us to the regions of bliss, to the company of angels, where can be heard the voices of the redeemed, as they sing forever the praises of the lamb, can never be realized, except by repentance for past wrong and obedience for the future. "That their hope in the Saviour must make them faithful and dutiful servants."

That some ministers are faithful in the performance of this part of their duty, the most ample testimony can be furnished. That such hold out the offer of salvation to the slave, and promise him "the reward of the inheritance," on condition that he is faithful and obedient to his earthly masters, we shall proceed to demonstrate.

From the Presbyterian Advocate.

"The Synod of Virginia, at its recent meeting in Norfolk, passed the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the ministers belonging to this Synod to preach to the colored people specially and statedly as far as practicable.

2. *Resolved*, That the Synod would recommend, wherever it may be practicable, the establishment of Sabbath Schools for the oral instruction of the colored people."

Reverend Wm. Meade, Bishop of the diocese of Virginia, published a book of sermons, tracts and dialogues, for masters and slaves, and recommended them to all mas-

ters and mistresses to be used in their families. Printed at Winchester, Va., by John Hieskel.

In the preface of the book, Bishop Meade remarks:

"The editor of this volume offers it to all masters and mistresses in our southern states, with the anxious wish and devout prayer that it may prove a blessing to themselves and their households. He considers himself most happy in having met with the several pieces which compose it, and could not with a quiet conscience refrain from affording to others the opportunity of profiting thereby."

In this book, there are two sermons upon this text.

"Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond or free."

Two or three pages follow this text, and then appears this sentence: "Here masters may begin to read to their servants." See page 90. Then follows—

"I have chosen a text of Scripture which I could wish you all had by heart and would all remember, because it shows you what a great friend you may have in Heaven, if you will but take any pains to gain his favor."

The providences of God are spoken of, "His making the sun to shine, the rain to fall, &c."

And on page 93, he says:

"Some he hath made masters and mistresses for taking care of their children and others that belong to them. * * * Some he hath made servants and slaves, to assist and work for their masters and mistresses, that provide for them; and others he hath made ministers and teachers, to instruct the rest, to show them what they ought to do, and to put them in mind of their several duties."

And on pages 94 and 95, he says:

"Besides, when people die, we know of but two places they have to go to, and that is heaven or hell; so that whoever misses the one, must go to the other. Now heaven is a place of great happiness, which God hath prepared for all that are good, where they shall enjoy rest from their labors, and a blessedness which shall never have an end. And hell is a place of great torment and misery, where all wicked people will be shut up with the devil and other evil spirits, and be punished forever because they will not serve God. If, therefore, we would have our souls saved by Christ; if we would escape hell and obtain heaven, we must set about doing what he requires of us, that is, to serve God. Your own poor circumstances in

this life, ought to put you particularly upon this and taking care of your souls; for you cannot have the pleasures and enjoyments of this life like rich free people, who have estates and money to lay out as they think fit. If others will run the hazard of their souls, they have a chance of getting wealth and power, of heaping up riches and enjoying all the ease, luxury and pleasure their hearts should long after. But you can have none of these things; so that if you sell your souls for the sake of what poor matters you can get in this world, you have made a very foolish bargain indeed. Almighty God hath been pleased to make you slaves here, and to give you nothing but labor and poverty in this world, which you are obliged to submit to, as it is his will that it should be so. And think within yourselves what a terrible thing it would be, after all your labors and sufferings in this life, to be turned into hell in the next life; and after wearing out your bodies in service here, to go into a far worse slavery when this is over, and your poor souls be delivered over into the possession of the devil, to become his slaves forever in hell, without any hope of ever getting free from it. If, therefore, you would be God's freemen in heaven, you must strive to be good and serve him here on earth. Your bodies, you know are not your own: they are at the disposal of those you belong to; but your precious souls are still your own, which nothing can take from you, if it be not your own fault. Consider well, then, that if you lose your souls by leading idle, wicked lives here, you have got nothing by it in this world, and you have lost your all in the next. For your idleness and wickedness is generally found out, and your bodies suffer for it here; and what is far worse, if you do not repent and amend, your unhappy souls will suffer for it hereafter."

"Having thus shown you the chief duties you owe to your great Master in heaven, I now come to lay before you the duties you owe to your masters and mistresses here upon earth. And for this you have one general rule that you ought always carry in your minds, and that is, to *do all service for them as if you did it for God himself*. Poor creatures! you little consider when you are idle and neglectful of your master's business, when you steal, and waste, and hurt any of their substance, when you are saucy and impudent, when you are telling them lies and deceiving them; or when you prove stubborn and sullen, and will not do the work you are set about without stripes and vexation; you do not consider, I say, that what faults you are guilty of towards your masters and mistresses, are faults done against God himself, who hath set your masters and mistresses over you in his own stead, and expects that you will do for them just as you would do for him. And pray do not think that I want to deceive you, when I tell you that your *masters and mistresses are God's overseers*; and that if you are faulty towards them, God himself will punish you severely for it

in the next world, unless you *repent* of it, and strive to make amends by your faithfulness and diligence for the time to come, for God himself hath declared the same.”—See page 104.

“Now from this general rule, namely, that you are to do all service for your masters and mistresses as if you did it for God himself, there arise several other rules of duty towards your masters and mistresses, which I shall endeavor to lay out in order before you.

“And in the first place, you are to be obedient and subject to your masters in all things. * * And Christian ministers are commanded to ‘exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things, not answering them again, or gainsaying.’ You see how strictly God requires this of you, that whatever your masters and mistresses order you to do, you must set about it immediately, and faithfully perform it, without any disputing or grumbling, and take care to please them well in all things. And for your encouragement he tells you that he will reward you for it in heaven: because while you are honestly and faithfully doing your master’s business here, you are serving your Lord and Master in heaven. You see, also, that you are not to take any exceptions to the behavior of your masters and mistresses, and that you are to be subject and obedient, not only to such as are good, and gentle, and mild towards you, but also to such as may be froward, peevish, and hard. For you are not at liberty to choose your own masters, but into whatever hands God hath been pleased to put you, you must do your duty, and God will reward you for it.

2. You are not to be eye servants. Now eye servants are such as will work hard and seem mighty diligent while they think any body is taking notice of them, but when their masters’ and mistresses’ backs are turned, they are idle and neglect their business. I am afraid there are a great many such eye servants among you, and that you do not consider how great a sin it is to be so, and how severely God will punish you for it. You may easily deceive your owners, and make them have an opinion of you that you do not deserve, and get the praise of men by it; but remember that you cannot deceive almighty God, who sees your wickedness and deceit, and will punish you accordingly. For the rule is, that you must obey your masters in all things, and do the work they set you about with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart as unto Christ; not with eye service as men pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service as to the Lord, and not as to men. If, then, you would but say within yourselves, ‘My master hath set me about this work, and his back is turned, so that I may loiter and idle if I please, for he does not see me; but there is my great Master in heaven, whose overseer my other master is, and his eyes are always upon me and taking notice of me, and I cannot get any

where out of his sight, nor be idle without his knowing it; and what will become of me, if I lose his good will and make him angry with me?' if, I say, you would once get the way of thinking and saying thus upon all occasions, you then would do what God commands you, and serve your masters with singleness of heart, that is, with honesty and sincerity, and do the work you are set about with fear and trembling, not for fear of your masters and mistresses upon earth, for you may easily cheat them, and make them believe you are doing their business when you do not, but with fear and trembling lest God your heavenly Master, whom you cannot deceive, should call you to account, and punish you in the next world, for your deceitfulness and eye service in this.

3. You are to be faithful and honest to your masters and mistresses, not purloining, or wasting their goods or substance, but showing all good fidelity in all things. * * Do not your masters, under God, provide for you? And how shall they be able to do this, to feed and to clothe you, unless you take honest care of every thing that belongs to them? Remember that God requires this of you, and if you are not afraid of suffering for it here, you cannot escape the vengeance of almighty God, who will judge between you and your masters, and make you pay severely in the next world, for all the injustice you do them here. And though you could manage so cunningly as to escape the eyes and hands of man, yet think what a dreadful thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God, who is able to cast both soul and body into hell!

4. You are to serve your masters with cheerfulness, reverence, and humility. You are to do your masters' service with good will, doing it as the will of God from the heart, without any sauciness or answering again. How many of you do things quite otherwise, and instead of going about your work with a good will and a good heart, dispute and grumble, give saucy answers, and behave in a surly manner! There is something so becoming and engaging in a modest, cheerful, good natured behaviour, that a little work done in that manner seems better done and gives far more satisfaction than a great deal more that must be done with fretting, vexation, and the lash always held over you. It also gains the good will and love of those you belong to, and makes your own life pass with more ease and pleasure. Besides, you are to consider that this grumbling and ill will does not affect your masters and mistresses only. They have ways and means in their hands of forcing you to do your work, whether you are willing or not. But your murmuring and grumbling is against God, who hath placed you in that service, who will punish you severely in the next world for despising his commands."

And again on page 116:

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them; that is, do by all mankind just as

you would desire they should do by you, if you were in their place and they in yours.

"Now to suit this rule to your particular circumstances; suppose you were masters and mistresses and had servants under you, would you not desire that your servants should do their business *faithfully* and *honestly*, as well when your back was turned as while you were looking over them?—Would you not expect that they should take notice of what you said to them? That they should behave themselves with respect towards you and yours, and be as careful of everything belonging to you as you would be yourselves? You are servants, do therefore, as you would wish to be done by, and you will be both good servants to your masters, and good servants to God, who requires this of you, and will reward you well for it, if you do it for the sake of conscience, in obedience to his commands."

According to this construction of the golden rule a robber upon the highway could put a pistol to a traveler's breast and demand his purse; he could say, Sir, if you were a robber and in my place, and I was in yours, would you not desire that I should hand my purse over to you, "*do therefore as you would wish to be done by.*" They in fact say to the Slave If you were a slaveholder and were daily and hourly robbing human beings of all their earnings, of everything dear to humanity, would you not desire that your victims would submit to your outrages? You are slaves, therefore you must do as you would wish to be done by, and submit to these outrages. One would suppose that devils would blush to justify the wrong they do by such bare-faced perversions as the above.

Then again on pages 131 and 132:

Take care that you do not *fret* or *murmur*, *grumble* or *repine*, at your condition; for this will not only make your life uneasy, but will greatly offend Almighty God. Consider that it is not yourselves—it is not the people that you belong to—it is not the men that have brought you to it—but it is the will of God, who hath by his providence, made you servants, because, no doubt, he knew that condition would be best for you in this world, and help you the better towards heaven, if you would but do your duty in it. So that any discontent at your not being free or rich, or great, as you see some others, is quarrelling with your heavenly master and finding fault with God himself, who hath made you what you are, and hath promised you as large a share in the kingdom of heaven as the greatest man alive, if you will but behave yourself aright, and do the business he hath set you about in this world honestly and cheerfully, Riches and power have proved the ruin of many an

unhappy soul, by drawing away the heart and affections from God and fixing them on mean and sinful enjoyments; so that when God, who knows our hearts better than we know them ourselves, sees that they would be hurtful to us, and, therefore, keeps them from us. It is the greatest mercy and kindness he could show us.

You may perhaps fancy, that if you had riches and freedom, you could do your duty to God and man with greater pleasure than you can now. But pray, consider that if you can but save your souls, through the mercy of God, you will have spent your time to the best of purposes in this world; and he that at last can get to Heaven has performed a noble journey, let the road be ever so rugged and difficult. Besides you really have a great advantage over most white people, who have not only the care of their daily labor upon their hands, but the care of looking forward and providing necessities for to-morrow and next day, and of clothing and bringing up their children, and of getting food and raiment for as many of you as belong to their families, which often puts them to great difficulties and distracts their minds so as to break their rest, and take off their thoughts from the affairs of another world. Whereas you are quite eased from all these cares and have nothing but your daily labor to look after, and when that is done take your needful rest. Neither is it necessary for you to think of laying up anything against old age, as white people are obliged to do; for the laws of the country have provided that you shall not be turned off when you are past labor, but shall be maintained while you live, by those you belong to, whether you are able to work or not. And these are great and real advantages, for which, if you consider things rightly, you cannot but thank Almighty God, who hath so wisely provided for your well being here, and your eternal happiness hereafter. There is only one circumstance which may appear grievous, that I shall now take notice of, and that is CORRECTION.

Now when *correction* is given you, you either deserve it, or you do not deserve it. But whether you really deserve it or not, it is your duty and Almighty God requires that you bear it patiently. You may, perhaps, think that this is hard doctrine, but if you consider it right you must needs think otherwise of it. Suppose then, that you deserve correction, you cannot but say that it is just and right, you should meet with it. Suppose you do not, or at least you do not deserve so much, or so severe a correction for the fault you have committed, you perhaps have escaped a great many more, and are at last paid for all. Or suppose you are quite innocent of what is laid to your charge, and suffer wrongfully in that particular thing, is it not possible you may have done some other bad thing which was never discovered, and that Almighty God who saw you doing it would not let you escape without punishment one time or

another? And ought you not in such a case to give glory to Him, and be thankful that he would rather punish you in this life for your wickedness, than destroy your souls for it in the next life? But suppose that even this was not the case, (a case hardly to be imagined,) and that you have by no means, known or unknown, deserved the correction you suffered, there is this great comfort in it, that if you bear it patiently, and leave your cause in the hands of God, he will reward you for it in heaven, and the punishment you suffer unjustly here, shall turn to your exceeding great glory hereafter."

With the success which attends this special religious instruction, the slave owners and others directly interested with them, in some instances find occasion for gratification but in others of disappointment.

Dr. Bailey, the editor of the Cincinnati Herald and Philanthropist, writing from Stony Creek, Sussex county, Va. October 26, 1844, states that he attended a Baptist meeting there, and that "the minister before commencing his sermon, read a certificate from the owner of a slave present, stating that his woman Rhoda had his consent to unite with the Baptist Church. The preacher remarked that it was the custom of the Baptists, all through the South, to admit no slave to their fellowship without the consent of the master. The woman was then called forward to give her experience. He asked her divers questions. What led her to seek a hope in the Saviour? She "had a desire to." Had she felt any distress? Yes—she was in mighty distress for a long time. Why was she distressed? She was afraid to die because she had led a bad life. Had she now hope in Christ? O, yes—every day. Had she seen her way clear, ever since her change? Yes—all the time.—Had her hope in the Saviour led her to feel the duty of "*being a dutiful servant?*" Yes. The preacher here turned to the congregation, and observed, that this was a question he always put. Whatever others might do, he never would baptize any servant, whatever his desire and profession, if his religion did not make him a dutiful, faithful servant."

I have heard Dr. Brisbane state in an anti-slavery meeting and reiterate it in the social circle, that on his visit to South Carolina in 1844, a slave-holder there told him that religion had done more for him with his slaves than four waggon loads of cowskins.

For the purpose of securing a meeting of persons favorable to the Religious Instruction of the negroes there was addressed to a number of gentlemen, chiefly Planters and

Laymen in the States of North Carolina and Georgia a circular, dated Charleston S. C. March 1845, which sought for information upon the influences of this religious instruction, upon the discipline of plantations, and the spirit and subordination of the negroes. This was signed by Daniel E. Huger, late U. S. Senator and twenty-three others. The following replies were published in the proceedings of a Convention held at Charleston from May 13 to 15, 1845, by those issuing this circular, and such other persons as they succeed in interesting in their objects.

James Edward Henry writes from Spartansburgh District, May, 1845, as follows:

"A near neighbor of mine, a prominent member of the church to which he belonged, had contented himself with giving his people the usual religious privileges. About six months ago he commenced giving them special religious instruction. He used Jones' Catechism principally. * * He states that he has now comparatively no trouble in their management."

Thomas Cook writes from Marlborough District, May, 1845:

"Plantations under religious instruction are more easily governed than those that are not."

John Dyson writes from Sumpter District, May, 1845:

"Upon the discipline and subordination of plantations, religious instruction will be found generally and decidedly beneficial."

William Curtis writes from Richland District, May, 1845:

"I have found the owners of plantations around not only willing but desirous that we should preach to their negroes; and they find as they expect, a better spirit and subordination among them."

James Gillam writes from Abbeville District, May, 1845:

"The deeper the piety of the slave the more valuable is he in every sense of the word."

Nicholas Ware writes from Brownsville, Marlborough District, May, 1845:

"All our negroes have, to a great extent, grown up under religious instruction. * * We scarcely here of depredations upon stock, &c. They are more obedient and more to be de-

pended on. We have few or no runaways, and corporeal punishment is but seldom resorted to."

N. R. Middleton writes from St. Andrew's Parish, May, 1845:

"A regard to self interest should lead every planter to give his people religious instruction."

John Rivers writes from Colleton District, May, 1845:

"Religious instruction promotes the discipline and subordination on plantations."

This circular referred to above, also sought for information as to "whether any of the ministers or religious teachers were persons of color, under what regulations their teaching was admitted and what is its practical result."

J. Stuart Hanchel writes from St. Andrew's Parish, May, 1845:

"Planters generally are encouraged by the good resulting from religious instruction, and I refer you to their testimony. There are colored methodist and baptist religious teachers, and the 'practical results' of the teaching of these preachers, or class leaders, or watchmen, so far as my experience goes, are decidedly bad."

J. Grimke Drayton, writes from Charleston, May 1845.

"Of their own accord, my people planted and tended year before the last in their own time, a missionary crop. They made \$16 00 which was appropriated to the extension of the Gospel.

The children have all been taught Jones' catechism entirely."

A committee of the above mentioned convention, appointed to prepare the proceedings for publication, of which the Rev. C. C. Jones was chairman, appended to their report, extracts from the reports, of the action of ecclesiastical bodies submitted to them upon the religious instruction of negroes. And first, of the Episcopal Church.

"It is well known that the venerable Bishop Meade of the Diocese of Virginia, has for very many years been a zealous, and able, and untiring advocate of this good work, as well as a laborer himself in the field. He has several times brought the great duty of evangelizing the negroes before his diocese; and in his efforts he is now ably supported by the assistant bishop, Dr. Johns. *Of the memorial of the Presbytery of Georgia* to the Southern Presbyteries on the religious instruction of negroes, Bishop Meade re-

marks, "*I am rejoiced to see the different religious denominations of christians in our Southern country taking up this subject in a more decisive manner than ever before; and hope they may stimulate each other, by such addresses to immediate and zealous action.*" Bishop Ives of the Diocese of North Carolina has prepared a catechism and put it in circulation, intended for the benefit of the colored charges of his clergy, and for the domestic instruction by the laity at home. Several clergymen of this diocese are much engaged in discharging their duty to the negroes connected with their congregations. Second, the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The catechising of the children and youth is a prominent part of their labor. Dr. Capers' catechism, prepared expressly for the purpose is extensively used. Third, the Baptist Church.

The Alabama State Convention of Baptists at its meeting in Tuscaloosa Nov. 1844, took up the subject of the religious instruction of the negroes, with much solemnity and zeal. A committee on the religious instruction of the negroes, presented resolutions expressive of the obligations of the convention to impart the Gospel to the negroes, and their determination to do so by every means in their power. At the late convention in Augusta, Georgia, made up of delegates from all the slaveholding states, for the purpose of separating from the Northern portion of that church, very special mention was made of the negroes in the South, as a field for missionary labor, and claiming the attention of the church in its new organization. This argues well for the negroes in the Baptist Church South.* Fourth, the Presbyterian Church.

*The Savannah River Baptist Association, in reply to the question,

"Whether, in a case of involuntary separation, of such a character as to preclude all prospect of future intercourse, the parties ought to be allowed to marry again,

Answer—

"That such separation among persons situated as our slaves are, is *civilly* a separation by *death*, and they believe, that, in the sight of God, it would be so viewed. To forbid second marriages in such cases, would be to expose the parties, not only to stronger hardships and strong temptation, but to church censure, for acting in obedience to their masters, who cannot be expected to acquiesce in a regulation at variance with justice to the slaves, and to the spirit of that command which regulates marriage among Christians. *The slaves are not free agents*, and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent, and beyond their control, than by such separation."

Elder John Peck, a Baptist minister of the State of New York in writing home from Georgia, says: "he travelled in company with one Caesar Blackmoor, who was a *Baptist minister*, and a *slave* the property of the Georgia Baptist Association.

The movement in this church in favor of the religious instruction of the negroes, for the last ten years has been gradual, and for two years rapid and extensive; more so than in any previous years within our recollection."

A committee of ten with Daniel E. Huger as chairman, was appointed by the meeting to prepare and publish an address to the holders of slaves in South Carolina. The committee says:

"We are led by this consideration to another topic, upon which several papers in the report give a gratifying testimony, namely the effects of the religious instruction of negroes upon labor and upon discipline. * * A wise management would combine kindness with discipline, and aim at making labor effective and the laborer happy. * * Would we most naturally look for effective labor in the dissolute, and unprincipled, and the discontented? or in those who are godly and honest, regular in their habits, and satisfied with their condition?"

The Charleston South Carolina Mercury has become perfectly satisfied with these missionary efforts among the slaves. Previous to the Convention above referred to this paper said:

"No longer than ten or twelve years since, when the plan of sending the missionaries to our blacks was first entered upon, we all remember the opposition it raised among many of our planters who were averse to it as an innovation fraught with ill consequences, they could not tell what, but which they were determined not to risk. As all thinking men foresaw, their fears have proved perfectly groundless, and we venture to say, not one who has made the experiment but will heartily subscribe to the soundness of Bishop Berkley's observations; what prejudice still exists we are sure a few years more of trial will remove."

The Presbyterian of the West, of September 19, 1844, an organ of the Old School Church, in speaking of Long Cove church, Abbeville, S. C., says, "The colored congregation varies from 300 to 350. Instruction especially adapted to *them* is regularly administered." The same paper of the same date published a memorial, of which the following is an extract. Observe—this paper the Presbyterian of the West, is published at Springfield, Ohio, a non-slavholding State. As this memorial was unaccompanied with editorial or other comment, and as the Editor indulged himself in much pious felicitation at the success of the instruction "especially adapted to the negroes of Long Cove church," he is to be understood as fully endorsing what follows:

MEMORIAL,

OF THE PRESBYTERY OF GEORGIA TO THE PRESBYTERIES OF THE SOUTHERN STATES, ON THE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE NEGROES.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES.

"The Committee appointed on the Memorial to the Southern Presbyteries, made a report, and the Memorial presented was received and adopted, and it was then

"*Resolved*, That the Memorial be signed by all the members of the Presbytery, and that one thousand copies be printed at the expense of the Presbytery, and copies be transmitted not only to the Stated Clerks, but also to all the members of the Southern Presbyteries, and to vacant churches in the South, and

"*Resolved*, also, That the Memorial be printed in the leading Religious Journals of the Church."

Attest.

C. C. JONES, Stated Clerk.

MEMORIAL.

DARIEN, GEORGIA, April 6, 1844.

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

Having been engaged in the Religious Instruction of the Negroes for ten years past, and having attentively watched the progress of feeling and of effort on the subject in our own Church, we have come to the deliberate conclusion that the time has fully arrived for our church to take up this great work in sober earnest and give it that prominence and support which its importance demands.

Before presenting our views on the course of action which in our judgment seems advisable for the church to adopt, permit us to suggest a few considerations, connected with the Religious Instruction of the Negroes and somewhat introductory to the object which we have in view in addressing you at the present time.

The multitude of Negroes in the United States, demands our serious attention.

The population of slaves in the United States in 1790, was 697,897; in 1800, 893,041; in 1810, 1,191,364; in 1820, 1,538,064; in 1830, 2,009,031; and in 1840, 2,487,355. The rate of increase from 1790, to 1840, was 27 per cent., from 1800 to 1810, 33 per cent., from 1810 to 1820, 29 per cent., from 1820 to 1830, 30 per cent., and from 1830 to 1840, 23 per cent. Supposing the rate of increase for every ten years to come will be 25 per cent., we shall have in 1850 over 3,000,000, in 1860 over 3,800,000, in 1870 over 4,800,000, and less than forty years from this time, in 1880, over 6,000,000!

While we are thus glancing at the provisions for the chris-

tianization of the negroes, we must not forget the important fact that they do not read the word of God and that they cannot have preachers of their own color in sufficient numbers nor of sufficient ability to supply their wants; and thus far, we have not been able to secure Ministers and Missionaries to supply the destitutions of the whites, and if they suffer, the negroes must necessarily suffer more. Indeed there are extensive districts of our country but seldom visited by Ministers of any kind, and there are hundreds and thousands of negroes who live from year to year without hearing the voices of those who bring glad tidings of salvation to perishing men! And thus will they live and die if Missionaries are not *sent* to them. If we now put all these things together, the conclusion will be forced upon us, that we have not *begun seriously* to seek the salvation of this people, nor to attempt any adequate supply of their spiritual wants.

Nor should we forget that this class of our population is *dependent upon us for all the efficient and valuable religious instruction which they receive.*

They are servants, and as such are dependent upon their owners. The law of the land makes and can make no provision for their religious instruction. That instruction is committed to owners, as the instruction of children is to parents, and they can give or withhold it at pleasure. *We owners and Ministers, are "the Almoners of divine mercy to them,"* and if we do not open the door of Salvation, they may grope their way into a miserable eternity; for they have no power of any kind to originate, and establish, and carry forward Church organizations and Associations for their own benefit. They are entirely dependent upon us for the Gospel of salvation.

But while so dependent, they are *most accessible.* They speak our own language, are within our households, around our doors, connected with our Churches, nay, more, they are owned by our Church members, and by our ministers. No law forbids their oral instruction. Owners, in great numbers, mourn over the spiritual condition of their people, and welcome the labors of Ministers and Missionaries among them, and give every access to them. Even men of the world throw wide the door of access to their negroes. The negroes themselves are open to instruction, they willingly and in most instances joyfully receive it. Any Minister in the South can have a field of labor among the negroes if he desires it, and will be at the pains to interest them in himself and in his preaching.

Brothren, we are not straitened in *the master* nor in *the servant*, but in ourselves. We need more of the humble, self-denying fervant spirit of our Divine Lord.

And shall we urge the point that it is our *duty to evangelize the negroes.*

Who dare deny it? *God in his providence imposes it upon us; for this people have in a most mysterious manner been removed*

from their own heathen land and transported to these shores and literally planted in the bosom of the christian church. God has made us their masters and guardians. His purposes touching them are in part developed. He says to the church of Christ in these United States, take these Heathen and lead them into life eternal through the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Son. Yea, He has made it our great duty to do so in His Word, where the relation of master and servant is recognized, and he distinctly addresses masters and requires them to provide as well for their souls as the bodies of their servants.

We need some open decided action upon the part of the Church—some arrangement made whereby this field may be brought prominently and permanently before the Church, and occupied as fast and as far as we may be permitted to do.

For bringing about this object so desirable, no plan has recommended itself so pleasantly to our minds as this. That the Assembly's Board of Domestic Missions include the Negroes in their field of labour and endeavor to furnish means and labourers for it as Providence shall open the way. And this is the special subject which we would present for your consideration and action in this memorial.

Our reasons for referring this work to the Assembly's Board of Domestic Missions, are the following:

1. Because the negroes come properly under this Board.—They form a field for Domestic Missions if any people do.
2. Because the Board is the regularly constituted and established agency of our Church and is recognized as such and is known and confided in throughout our bounds, and on this ground has the decided advantage of any other Board or agency which we might form for the purpose.
3. The Board can without any additional expense to itself of means and agencies take this field.
4. And we have every confidence in the Board that it will conduct the business entrusted to it, judiciously and safely and to the entire satisfaction of the Southern Churches and to the country at large.

And we think there are decided benefits resulting from the plan we propose.

1. The work of the religious instruction of the negroes will be put upon a permanent and efficient basis. It will live while the Church lives, and the necessity for action is felt. The entire Church will be pledged to it. The negroes both in the free and slave states will share in our efforts.

2. There will be a fountain of information opened on the subject of religious instruction of the negroes, and also in respect to fields to be occupied. A treasury will also be prepared into which contributions may be poured from every part of the United States; and a source of supply of ministers and missionaries made known, to which Presbyteries, Church Sessions, Associations, or individuals may apply for labourers.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the Board will not commission and send out labourers into the Southern field to search out locations, as in a foreign field. But the Board will only supply men and means when applied to for them, so that it will be the assistant, the agent of the Southern Church. The ministers and missionaries will be sent out at our own request and be under our own control when they arrive and enter upon their duties.

3. The effect on the Church will be good. The fact that this field has been referred to and been taken by the Board, and the constant publication of its receipts and expenditures and efforts in it, will call the great body of our ministers and members to consideration and action. It will stimulate those now in the field, encourage the desponding and awaken the inactive, and it will invite many, especially our young ministers and missionaries into it. A demand for labour being created, we should hope to see a supply equal to the demand.

The minds of ministers and members will be drawn off from abstract questions of a civil and a political nature, with which, as Christians, engaged in evangelizing the world, we have little to do, and they will be presented with a way whereby they may practically gratify all their benevolent sympathies for the negroes, in the best manner possible. Our attention, as a Church, will be turned to the great question before us, and indeed before all other denominations, and which should take precedence of all other questions touching the negroes, shall this people be saved or lost? And we may add, that beholding the Church taking up this good work in sober earnest, opposition to us will be allayed, and one of the strongest objections to the system which prevails at the South, weakened if not destroyed.

That you may be put in possession of the views and feeling of the Board, we will refer you to a letter from the Secretary to one of our number on the subject:

“PHILADELPHIA, FEBRUARY, 27, 1844.

Reverend C. C. Jones.

“My Dear Brother:—Your favour of the 12th instant came to hand several days since. I have delayed an answer until I could submit to the Executive Committee of our Board of Missions. The Committee met yesterday, and I now communicate their views and feelings. The Committee, which is composed of the most active members of the Board, expressed a deep interest in the object, and if the Southern Churches can be brought freely, of their own accord to commit this matter to their Board and pledge them their confidence and united cordial support, I am persuaded your Board will be found ready to take hold of it with energy, and to manage it in such way as the Southern Churches will suggest and approve. The subject you know, my Brother, is one of great delicacy, and will require much wisdom and grace too, to manage to the advantage and

satisfaction of all concerned. And in order to accomplish this great and desirable object, the overture must come from the Southern Churches; they must open the way, and lead in the matter.

"And now, may brother, suffer me to say to you for myself, your communication has awakened an interest in my own mind and heart that I cannot express. The moral and religious instruction of your colored population is in my view an object at this moment, of greater magnitude and importance than any other which can be presented to our Churches; and if the way can be opened for our whole Church, embarking wisely in this great and good work, I shall consider it as one of the most decided tokens of God's favour to our Church and land. When I received your letter, knowing the deep interest which Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, and his son Rev. James W. Alexander, feel on this subject, and wishing their counsel I enclosed your letter in one to the Doctor, and begged him to submit it to his son. The Doctor was sick and unable to write, and the Rev. James W. Alexander wrote for both. His letter in reply is of thrilling interest. He says, he considers this as "at once the nearest, the most promising and the most obligatory of all our enterprises, and all other Missions seem to him to have inferior claims; and that there is nothing conceivable which seems to him to lie so plainly before the American Churches as their immediate imperative duty." Such are the feelings expressed in the letter, and such, my brother, are the feelings of many, very many good and sound men in the North. And on this subject, I think I am prepared to say, the South may trust their Board.— I know them well, and feel safe in making the remark.

"And now, my brother, what plan shall be adopted to obtain from our Southern Presbyteries and Synods an expression of their free, full, and honest wishes in regard to this matter? If the South will come forward and cordially invite the whole Church to unite with them in the work, they will open the way for a great and good work. God will approve, and the Church, and the land be blessed. Write to me again and tell me your plans, and if the remnant of my life can be made in the smallest degree instrumental in aiding in the accomplishment of an object, so great, so noble, so good, I shall feel that I have not lived altogether in vain. The Lord prosper you in your good work. Affectionately, your brother.

WILLIAM A. McDOWELL."

This letter speaks for itself. The views and feelings of the Board are before you. We need not add any thing further to stir up your hearts and minds on this important subject. We feel confident that you will entertain this memorial in a spirit of brotherly love, and give it your prayerful consideration, and may we not express the hope, nay more, the conviction, that it will commend itself to your approval, for we think that the glory of Christ, the salvation of souls, the welfare of our country,

and the prosperity of our Church are in a large measure involved in it. After you have taken action, if it will not be imposing too much trouble, we should be glad to know through your Stated Clerk, or in any other way you may deem preferable, your decision.

The Lord seems to be preparing us for some decided and general action. The day is not far distant when the Church will look back with amazement and grief at her present carelessness and inactivity. The subject is one which we must meet in the Judgment Day! At that day it will rise up in awful magnitude. We shall then be struck with amazement that it commanded so little of our attention on earth. Well may we ask, what will become of our own souls in that great day of inquisition, if they are found stained with the blood of multitudes, whom we allowed to perish in ignorance and in sin, when God made it our duty, and put it into our power to give them the light of life! Let us unite in our Savior's name, and enter heartily and perseveringly upon this great work which He has given us to do.

Commending ourselves to your prayers, and offering our own for you in all your labours in the ministry, and for the peace, purity, and prosperity of the Church, we subscribe ourselves affectionately your brethren in Christ.

Ministers—William McWhire, D. D., Robert Quarterman, Charles Colcock Jones, Washington Baird, Isaac Stockton Keith Axson, John Winn, John Jones, Henry Axtell, Alexander Wilson McClure.

Elders.—Alexander Mitchell, Edward B. Baker William J. King, Thomas S. Clay, Joseph Cumming, John Ashmore.

The Rev. C. C. Jones who figures so largely in the proceedings of the Charleston convention, and in the memorial of the Presbytery of Georgia has a section in his catechism prepared for the "oral instruction" of servants "on the duties of servants" in which is the following language.

"Q Is it right for the servant to run away, or is it right to harbor a runaway?

"A. No.

"Q. What did the apostle Paul do to Onesimus, who was a runaway? Did he harbor him, or send him back to his master?

"A. He sent him back to his master with a letter.*—

Mr. Jones has been himself laboring for some years as a missionary among the slaves, and in his last, the tenth annual report, respecting the efforts of himself and others in this work, Mr. Jones informs us, that some of the slaves are

*Those questions and replies will indicate the character of a book so generally approved by those who are engaged in this special religious instruction of slaves.

opposed to this kind of teaching and remain unconverted. "I was preaching" says he "to a large congregation on *the Epistle to Philemon*; and when I insisted upon fidelity and obedience as Christian virtues in servants, and upon the authority of Paul, condemned the practice of *running away*, one half of my audience deliberately rose up and walked off with themselves, and those that remained looked anything but satisfied, either with the preacher or his doctrine. After dismissal, there was no small stir among them: some solemnly declared 'that there was no such an epistle in the Bible;' others 'that it was not the gospel;' others, 'that I preached to please the masters;' others, 'that they did not care if they ever heard me preach again.'"

Dr. Lafon who was once an owner and trafficker in slaves himself says:

"In the Slave States of this country, it is claimed that there are many thousands of slaves who have been hopefully converted to God. *Without undertaking to say that these supposed conversions are spurious, we do say on the testimony of those well qualified to form a correct opinion in the premises that the religion of a large portion of the degraded slaves, consists chiefly in superstition, fanatical practices, and an obsequious servility to the tyrants who rule them.*"

Rev. Joshua Boucher, formerly a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who withdrew from that church and is now a preacher among the Wesleyans, states that the slaves of the South are told that God made them black with the design that they should be slaves; and that, when travelling and preaching in the South, another preacher, belonging to the same church, related the following conversation, which took place between himself and a slave boy:

Minister. "Have you any religion?"

Boy. "No, sir."

Minister. "Don't you want religion?"

Boy. "No, sir."

Minister. "Don't you love God?"

Boy. "What! me love God, who made me with a black skin and white man to whip me!"

A man, who had been held as a slave near Gen. John H. Cocke's plantation, in Virginia, where a meeting-house was erected to afford slaves an opportunity of listening to special preaching, asked me if it was in the Bible that he should be a slave, and said they had always told him it was there, that they (the colored people) should be slaves.

When asked if he believed that it was right he should be a slave he placed his hand upon his heart and replied, "No! I can feel that it is not right."

Frederick Douglas, the eloquent fugitive slave tells us of a Methodist class leader, who tied up a slave woman, and flogged her till the blood streamed down her back; and when he had finished his brutal task, he quoted to her the text, "He that knoweth his master's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes."

He states that many of the slaves can never be induced to believe these doctrines, or in the language of Dr. Lafon, become "converted." They attribute the effort to sinister and avaricious motives, rather than to any desire for the salvation of their souls. Mr. Douglass is at the present date, in Europe and the following is an extract from a speech of his lately delivered in Glasgow, Scotland and published in the Glasgow Argus. The cheers and laughter, show what estimate his audience place upon a slaveholding religion, the religion of America. Mr. Douglass said:

"The ministers of America held the keys of the kingdom, in which his brothers and sisters were confined in bondage. He charged them with being guilty in this matter. [Cheers] He had heard their preaching, and knew its effects on the minds of the slaveholders, and the minds of the slaves. He had heard probably from time to time, that the slaves had religious instruction. Well, he admitted that he had religious instruction—but what kind of religious instruction did they suppose? He would tell them. The slaveholder—for they had slaveholding ministers—would take the text,—“Servants obey your masters,” he would divide it into four separate heads, and here he was going to imitate the preacher, for he wanted to show them cantingly, how piously he might appear, when in the service of the wicked one himself. He had seen them shed tears too; and when he was young, he thought to shed tears showed truly what a man was in such circumstances, but he had learned since he knew something of the crocodile, that neither tears nor prayers, in all cases, indicated perfect sincerity. [Applause.] He would now let them hear this Doctor of Divinity, if he could get on a face long enough. Mr. D. continued:—“Servants obey your masters.” You should obey your masters, in the first place, because your happiness depends on your obedience. [Cheers and laughter.] Now, servants, such is the relation constituted by the Almighty between cause and effect, that there can be no happiness neither in this world nor the world to come save by obedience—[Laughter]—and it is a fact, that wherever you see misery, wretchedness and poverty, want

and distress, all is the result of disobedience. [Renewed Laughter.] Peculiarly is this case with yourselves. Under the providence of God you sustain a very peculiar relation to your masters. The term "*servant*" in the text means *slave*; and you will of consequence perceive that this is a message to you by the mouth of the Apostle; so as a preacher of the gospel I beg you to listen to the words of wisdom. [Great laughter.]

I said that it was peculiarly the case that your happiness depends upon your obedience. It is verily true, and suffer me to illustrate this position by the statement of a fact. A neighbor of mine sent his servant Sam into the fields to perform a certain amount of labor which ought to have taken him the short space of two hours and a half. Now, by the way his master was a pious soul, and after having waited till the expiration of the time which he had allotted to Sam for the performance of the work, he went out into the field, as he was accustomed to do, for the purpose of ascertaining why Sam was detained. [Laughter.] When he went, lo and behold, there lay Sam's hoe in one place, and Sam fast asleep in the corner of the fence.—[Great laughter and cheers.] Think of the feelings of that pious master. [Laughter.] Oh! it was a trying situation for a servant of the Lord to be placed in. He went "to the law and to the testimony" to know his duty, and he there found it written, that "the servant who knoweth his master's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." Accordingly he took up Sam, and lashed him till he was not able to bear it. Now this is the point I want to come to. To what was Sam's whipping traceable? [Cheers and laughter.] Solely to disobedience.—[Much laughter.] If you would be happy therefore, and not be whipped, you will avoid sleeping when you should be working, for if you would enjoy and live under the sunshine of your master's good pleasure, let me implore you as one who loves your souls "be obedient to your masters." [Laughter.] You should obey your masters, in the second place, because of a sense of gratitude for your present situation compared to what it might have been. You should be inspired by knowledge of the fact, that the Lord, in his mercy, brought you from Africa to this Christian country. [Laughter.] Oh! this is an important consideration, and one to which I will call your attention for a few moments. Your fathers; and I dread to enter upon the picture; were taken from Africa; degraded lost and ruined Africa; darkness

may be said to cover that earth, and gross darkness that people—to be brought into the sunshine of this land of freedom. [Laughter.] Your fathers were living destitute of the knowledge of the gospel—destitute of all these civilizing influences which you find surrounding you in this new region—destitute of religion, and bowing down to stocks and stones, and worshiping images. While you were in this state of deep despair the Lord put it into the minds of good men to leave their homes, to leave their families, and brave the perils of the ocean, that they might snatch you as brands from the burning, and bring you to this country. [Great applause and laughter.]* I will now go to another head of my text. Thirdly—[a laugh.] You should obey your masters, in the third place, because of your being adapted to your present condition. Now, servants it is one of the peculiar marks of the wisdom of the Almighty; that whenever he establishes a relation among mankind he accompanies it with evidence of its fitness, and of the adaptability of the parties to their several conditions. The relation of husband and wife, parent and child, the relation of ruled and rulers, of sovereign and subject, and so on, all show this mark of adaptation. So the relation of master and slave! Permit me to point out to you some of the peculiarities and characteristics which show most conclusively that you should be content to fill the very situation which you now find yourselves placed in. For instance, you have hard hands, strong forms, robust constitutions, black skins and curly hair. [Cheers and laughter.] On the other side, we have soft hands, long and tender forms, delicate constitutions, and white skins. [Renewed cheers and laughter.] Oh! I wish to ask you from whence come these differences? “It is the Lord’s doings and marvellous in our eyes.” [Shouts of laughter and applause.] Now your hard hands and robust constitutions amply fit you to labor under our burning sun in the position in which you find yourselves placed; while your masters and mistresses cannot labor thus. [Applause.]—

*The memorial of the Presbytery of Georgia States: “And shall we urge the point that it is our duty to evangelize the negroes? Who dare deny it? God in his providence imposes it upon us; for this people have, in a most mysterious manner been removed from their own heathen land and transported to these shores and literally planted in the bosom of the Christian Church. God has made us their masters and Guardians.” And on page 99 of Bishop Meads’ book: “Hath he not brought you out of a land of darkness and ignorance where your forefathers knew nothing of him, to a country where you may come to the knowledge of the only true God, and learn a sure way to heaven.” It is also claimed that John Newton the African slavetrader was a pious man long before he gave up that traffic.

You have no imagination of the terrible effect of the sun on the white people. Did you see your mistress how careful she was to raise the parasol above her head when she came to the door, because the sun has a very injurious effect upon the white people? The Lord has blessed you with black skins and strong constitutions; but, ah! boast not of your strength—boast not of those advantages, for while he has given you these advantages he has also given us powers which mutually benefit us. [Loud applause.] You have not so much intellect as we have, so that you cannot take care of yourselves, nor provide for yourselves, and you would be in a most wretched condition if ever the Lord were to leave you to be guided by your own intellects. Thank God that we take care of you. Oh! the wisdom of God who made one class to do the thinking, while another does the working! [Shouts of laughter and applause.] He hoped they would now allow him to say Amen.

* * * * *

The foregoing supplies us with the most ample proof, the most indubitable evidence, that the slave is instructed to believe that he owes a duty to his master as a part of his religious creed, and if slavery is right, who will undertake to say such special religious instruction is wrong? If the slave owes a duty, it is right to inform his mind in regard to that duty, and to exhort him to its performance. A religion which tolerates and sanctions slavery, cannot consistently with itself, teach the slave any duties, the performance of which will interfere or conflict with those he owes to his master. It claims rights for the master, and consequently may not teach duties which infringe upon, or impair those rights. As Christ has said, "ye cannot serve two masters" so the slave if rightfully held, owes his first and only duty to the man, who claims him as property, and thus if he is rightfully held as a slave, he is rightfully taught in the religious instruction which he receives, to yield his obedience and duty where it is due.

Christianity teaches all men that they owe a duty to God, to themselves, to parents, brothers, sisters, wives, children, to the widow and the fatherless, the poor and the needy, to do to others as we would wish them to do to us. The performance of these duties which christianity enjoins, evidently would interfere with those which the slave owes to the master, and the master having the right (as we have agreed to consider in this argument) to the slave, and his services, all else which interferes with the perfor-

mance of the slave's duty to him, undoubtedly must be wrong. If this be not so, then there are no such things as immutable principles of right and wrong, and rights clash with rights, duties with duties, and discord rules triumphantly throughout the universe! It is agreed by all to be the duty of those who profess to be the teachers of truth and righteousness to discountenance every thing which conflicts with the duties of individuals, and if the slave is the property of the master, as christianity interferes with the rights of the master, and may guide the slave continually into that which is contrary to the wish and will of the master, then are the slaveholding professors of religion justifiable, and to be praised and honored in their attempts to discountenance the preaching of christianity, and to fasten the stigma of infidelity upon those who promulgate its principles. I am happy to avail myself of the authority of the Methodist Episcopal Church in confirmation of this view of the subject. In the General Conference of that church assembled in Cincinnati, O., 1836, the following proceedings were adopted with great unanimity of sentiment.

“Whereas great excitement has pervaded this country on the subject of modern abolitionism, which is reported to have been increased in this city recently, by the unjustifiable conduct of two members of the General Conference in lecturing upon, and in favor of that agitating topic; and whereas such a course on the part of any of its members is calculated to bring upon this body the suspicion and distrust of the community, and misrepresent its sentiments in regard to the point at issue;—and whereas in this aspect of the case, a due regard for its own character, as well as a just concern for the interests of the church confided to its care, demand a full, decided, and unequivocal expression of the views of the General Conference in the premises. Therefore

Resolved,—By the delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, that they disapprove in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of the two members of the General Conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently, upon and in favor of modern abolitionism.

Resolved,—By the delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled,—that they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim

any right, wish, or intention, to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slave holding states of this Union."

Accompanying these resolutions, as they went forth to the world to "define the position" of the Methodist Episcopal church on this question, was a Pastoral Address to the churches, which contains the following passages:

"These facts which are only mentioned here as a reason for the friendly admonition which we wish to give you, constrain us as your pastors, who are called to watch over your souls, as they must give account, to exhort you to abstain from all abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications, &c.

"From every view of the subject which we have been able to take, and from the most calm and dispassionate survey of the whole ground, we have come to the conclusion, that the only safe, scriptural, and prudent way for us, both as ministers and people, to take, is wholly to refrain from this agitating subject," &c.

It will be seen in the action and expression of this conference, and in the pastoral letter of the Bishops, there is the solemn declaration that they have no right to interfere, and consequently they condemn any action or course which does interfere with, or impair the rights of the master. Thus while the Methodist Episcopal church refuses to condemn slaveholding as a sin, and rebuke him who practises it as a sinner, but fellowships him and acknowledges his right to the slave as property; it maintains a consistent character, and position on the question, and in declaring that it has no right to interfere and impair the rights of the master, it necessarily and specially condemns that which does interfere and teach the slave duties conflicting with those he owes to his master. Christianity does this, that church sustains the right of the master, and wars upon christianity, for in teaching that slavery is right, the two being opposed it is compelled to teach that christianity is wrong.

What is christianity—its principles, and the duties it enjoins? "Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love [the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."—Matthew xxii; 37, 38, 39, and

40. In these two commandments we discover but one principle laid down, and that is love. That which the apostle says "worketh no ill to a neighbor, but is a fulfilment of the law." But why is the second like unto the first? We are required to love God supremely, but only required to love our neighbors as ourselves. It is only by learning that our neighbors are as ourselves, that we are enabled to understand that the second commandment is like unto the first. God is supreme in all his attributes, supreme in all his rights, therefore we are required to love him supremely. Our neighbors have the same attributes as ourselves, the same rights, and hence we are required to love them as ourselves.

We are to love God in accordance with his attributes and rights, our neighbors in accordance with their attributes and rights; herein consists the likeness. Our neighbors being as ourselves, are in every respect endowed by the Creator with the same rights that we are endowed with. Hence if I have a right to life, every other human being has also. If I have a right to liberty, so has every other person. If I have a right to pursue happiness others have the same. If I have a right to worship God in accordance with the dictates of my own conscience, so has every human soul. If I have a right to protect, support, and comfort my parents, wife, children, so have all others. If I have a right to the products of my own labor, so has every one else. But again, we cannot love God, without loving his attributes—at least such as are revealed to us. We know some of his attributes to be creative power, justice, mercy, benevolence. If we hate the works of his creative power, we cannot love the power from which they proceed. If we hate justice or mercy, we cannot love God, for these are his attributes, and so with all of those by which he is characterised. The apostle said we could only give evidence of our love to God by evidence that we love our brother. Hence if I hate justice I shall be opposed to it and in favor of its moral opposite, injustice, and being opposed to the one, and in favor of the other, I shall be unjust to my neighbor. The evidence of my love for, or hatred of, justice, can be found only in my conduct towards my fellow man. And so of my love for benevolence or its moral opposite malevolence. My conduct towards others is the criterion of my love for this, or any other attribute of God, and as a consequence of my love to God, or of my hatred of, and opposition to him. The Psalmist said, "ye

that love the Lord hate evil." If we love him we are in favor of him, we are for him, and his attributes. If we love evil we are opposed to its moral opposite, goodness; hate it, and thus in hating his attributes, hate God.— Says the apostle, "love worketh no ill to a neighbor, but is the fulfilment of the law." Love has a moral character and a moral opposite; hatred being the moral opposite, it works ill to a neighbor, and is a violation of the law. Hence that which works ill to another is a violation of the law. To work ill to a neighbor is to be opposed to him, to hate him; he that doth this and says he loves God, the apostle declares to be a liar. But the question arises, what is it to work ill to another? We have seen that our neighbors are as ourselves—that we are to be for, and in favor of their rights, as we are for and in favor of our own, to love them as we love ourselves. Hence christianity requires that we shall not violate the law of love, by striking down the rights of others, or by any aggressions upon them. But beyond this negative duty, it positively enjoins us to do something. The apostle James says, "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world." The same authority says, "If a brother or a sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things needful for the body, what doth it profit? Even so faith without works is dead, being alone." And in the twenty fifth chapter of Matthew Christ teaches us as follows:—

32. "And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats:

33. "And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.

34. "Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

35. "For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in;

th 36. "Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

a 37. "Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?

38. "When saw we thee a stranger, and took *thee* in? or naked, and clothed *thee*?

39. "Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison and came unto thee?

40. "And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

41. "Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:

42. "For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink:

43. "I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked and ye clothed me not: sick and in prison and ye visited me not.

44. "Then shall they also answer him, saying Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?

45. "Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me."

Here we have enjoined upon us positive duties, which we must perform in order to fulfill the law of love, and work no ill to another. If we refuse to aid those in affliction, but leave them to pine in want, to suffer, or to die with disease, or from the aggressive injustice of others, without rendering them the whole aid of which we are capable, we work ill to them; oppose them; do not love them. Again Jesus said, "If ye love me, keep my commandments. If a man love me he will keep my words. He that loveth me not, keepeth not my sayings, and the word which ye hear is not mine, but the father's which sent me." And in his interview with the Lawyer, after relating to him the parable of the good Samaritan, his injunction to him was to go and do as the Samaritan had done. He tells us to "do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with God." "Therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets." As we would have others, recognize, respect and regard our right to life, to liberty, to the pursuit of happiness, so recognize, respect, and regard the right to life, to liberty, to the pursuit of happiness of every other human soul. As we would have regarded our right to worship God in accordance with our own consciences, to provide for the welfare of ourselves and those naturally dependent upon us for protection and comfort, our right to claim the aid and assistance of others in our necessities, so regard the right of all others to the same co-extensive, and co-ordinate with our own.

These duties are enjoined upon all alike. God, it is emphatically declared, is no respecter of persons. "Be ye called of no man master, for one is your master; even Christ, and all ye are brethren," "Call no man master." "No man can serve two masters." So far from giving any countenance to wrong and violence, to any assault upon the rights of others, Jesus taught, "But I say unto you which hear, love your enemies, do good to them which hate you. Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you. Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also! For if ye love them which love you what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?" "The Apostle Peter illustrates our duty in this respect, by referring us to the example of Christ himself, in submitting to wrong rather than to employ wrong. Just as we treat others, do we teach them to treat us; if we do not respect their rights, we teach them not to respect ours.

Christianity by thus inculcating that the slave has equal rights with the master, teaches that the master is outraging these rights, and that in accordance with its principles no man can be held as a slave. By teaching the slave that he is subject to the same duties as others, it teaches him he cannot remain a slave, since his duties as such, and his duties as a christian perpetually conflict. It forbids also, the employment of the only means and measures which are adequate to hold human beings in bondage. Slavery and christianity being thus demonstrably inconsistent, and incompatible with each other, it is further demonstrated that whichever may be right, the other must be wrong. That the Methodist E. Church does stand on the side of slavery and therefore opposed to christianity, its own acts testify. The slave laws in their opposition to christianity, proceed upon the same principle. They assert the right of the master, and are framed for the purpose of maintaining them. The public sentiment which created these laws, has been formed by, and is controlled by professors of religion. These laws are but an authoritative expression, of public sentiment, those professors of religion assisted to enact them, and aid in their execution. Charles T. Torrey interfered with what these laws asserted to be the rights of Mr. Heckrote of Baltimore, by doing to some slaves as, had their circumstances been reversed, he would have wished them to do to him. For his practical application of the golden rule, these laws executed by these

professors, immured him within the walls of a penitentiary. Thompson, Work, and Burr, violated no statute law in attempting to assist some slaves to cross the Mississippi, which they in reversed circumstances would have desired done for them, but public sentiment did what there was no law provided to do, and they too were consigned to a dreary prison life. The laws of some of the States provide severe penalties for the (crime,) of speaking or writing against slavery. Louisiana has provided what she conceives to be adequate penalties against those masters who practice "cruel punishment" upon their slaves, but still heavier penalties does she impose upon those who relieve a poor slave, chafed, and galled into perpetual misery by the irons placed upon his person, as appears from the following:

"If any person or persons &c. shall cut or break any iron chain or collar, which any master of slaves should have used in order to prevent the running away or escape of any such slave or slaves, such person or persons so offending shall, on conviction, &c., be fined not less than two hundred dollars, nor exceeding one thousand dollars; and suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than six months." *Act of Assembly of March 6. 1819—pamphlet, page 64.*

What the religion and the public sentiment is of that region of our country where slaves are found on the soil, fellow-shipped as it is by the religion and public sentiment of the North, we will now proceed to show by a variety of testimony.

In the triennial convention of the Baptists, held in Philadelphia in 1844, Dr. Brisbane attempted to speak of his repentance of the sin he had committed in once holding slaves. The slaveholders, and the northern professors of a slaveholding religion, stung to the quick by this implied censure of their own conduct, would not permit him to proceed:

Miss Harriet Martineau the celebrated authoress travelled throughout the Southern states, and remarks:

"Of the Presbyterian, as well as other clergy of the South, some are even planters, superintending the toils of their slaves, and making purchases, or effecting sales in the slave-markets, during the week, and preaching on Sundays whatever they can devise that is least contradictory to their daily practice. I watched closely the preaching in the South—that of all denominations—to see what could be made of Christianity, "the highest fact in the Rights of Man," in such a region. I found the stricter religionists preaching reward and punishment in connection with modes of belief, and hatred to the Catholics. I

found the more philosophical preaching for or against materialism, and diverging to phrenology. I found the more quiet and "gentlemanly" preaching harmless abstractions,—the four seasons, the attributes of the Deity, prosperity and adversity, &c. I heard one clergyman who always goes out of the room when the subject of negro emancipation is mentioned, or when slavery is found fault with, preach in a southern city against following a multitude to do evil. I heard one noble religious discourse from the Rev. Joel Parker, a Presbyterian clergyman, of New Orleans; but except that one, I never heard any available reference made to the grand truths of religion, or principles of morals. The great principles which regard the three relations to God, man, and self,—striving after perfection, mutual justice and charity, and christian liberty,—were never touched upon. Meantime, the clergy were pretending to find express sanctions of slavery in the Bible; and putting words to this purpose into the mouths of public men, who do not profess to remember the existence of the Bible in any other connection. The clergy were boasting at public meetings that there was not a periodical south of the Potomac which did not advocate slavery; and some were even setting up a magazine, whose "fundamental principle is, that man ought to be the property of man." The clergy, who were to be sent as delegates to the General Assembly, were receiving instructions to leave the room, if the subject of slavery was mentioned; and to propose the cessation of the practice of praying for slaves."

This same Rev. Joel Parker of whom she speaks, when on a visit to New England, preached about the sins of the South. Information of this reached New Orleans before his return, and when he landed upon the wharves of that city, he was met by an infuriated mob, which compelled him, in order to save his life, to retract the obnoxious sentiments, and to apologise for what he had said. Since then he has been recreant to every principle of justice and humanity.

The Rev. Amos Dresser writes:

"On my return from Nashville in 1835, I called on the Rev. J. W. Hall of Gallatin, thirty miles from Nashville, and shall not soon forget the kindness shown me by himself and family. In speaking of the moral desolation of the country, he gave it as his opinion, that if slavery continued five years longer, there would not be found a devoted minister of the Gospel in all the south; and added, 'If I should preach the whole truth to my people, I could not stay with them three months.'"

AMOS DRESSER.

Mr. Hall has since that period become converted to slavery, Religion and in the midst of the Abolitionists of

Dayton Ohio he fearlessly preaches against their doctrines and maintains the interest and rights of the slaveholder.

Amos Dresser was apprehended in Nashville, Tenn. on suspicion of being an abolitionist—brought before a Vigilance Committee, of whom seven were members of the Presbyterian Church, and one a Campbellite minister—and sentenced according to Lynch law, to receive 20 lashes with a cowskin on his bare back. He says,

"Among my triers, was a great portion of the respectability of Nashville. Nearly half of the whole number professors of Christianity, the reputed stay of the Church; supporters of the cause of benevolence in the form of tract and missionary Societies and Sabbath Schools, several members, and most of the elders of the Presbyterian Church, from whose hands, but a few days before, I had received the emblems of the broken body and shed blood of our blessed Saviour."(!!!)

The Editor of the Georgia Chronicle, a professor of religion, said that Dresser ought to have been hanged as high as Haman and left there to rot upon the gibbet until the wind whistled through his bones. And added, the cry of the whole South should be, death, instant death, to the Abolitionist wherever he is caught.

Rev. Thomas S. Witherspoon of Alabama, to the editor of "The Emancipator."

"When the tardy process of the law is too long in redressing our grievances, we of the South have adopted the summary remedy of Judge Lynch—and really I think it one of the most wholesome and salutary remedies for the malady of Northern fanaticism that can be applied, and no doubt my worthy friend, the Editor of the Emancipator and Human Rights, would feel the better of its enforcement, provided he had a Southern administrator. I go to the Bible for my warrant in all moral matters, * * * Let your emissaries dare venture to cross the Potomac, and I cannot promise you that their fate will be less than Haman's. Then beware how you goad an insulted, but magnanimous people to deeds of desperation."

William S. Plummer, D. D. Virginia:

[To the Chairman of a Committee of Correspondence, appointed by the citizens of Richmond to oppose the progress of anti-slavery principles at the South.]

"I have carefully watched this matter from its earliest existence, and every thing I have seen and heard of its character, both from its patrons and its enemies, has confirmed me, beyond repentance, in the belief that, let the character of Abolitionists be what it may in the sight of the Judge of all the earth, this is the most meddlesome, imprudent, reckless, fierce and wicked excitement I ever saw. I am willing at any time

that the world should know that such are my views.—A few things are perfectly clear to my mind.

"1. The more speedy, united, firm and solemnly resolute but temperate the expression of public opinion on this subject in the whole South, the better it will be for the North, for slaveholders, and generally for the slaves.

"2. If Abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, *it is but fair that they should have the first warming at the fire.*

* * * * *

"Lastly—Abolitionists are, like infidels, wholly unaddicted to martyrdom for opinion's sake. Let them understand that they will be caught, if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out our way. There is not one man among them who has any more idea of shedding his blood in this cause, than he has of making war on the Grand Turk. Their universal spirit is to stand off and growl and bark at men and institutions, without daring to march for one moment into their midst, and attack them with apostolic fearlessness.

With sentiments of great respect, I remain yours, &c.

WM. S. PLUMMER.

Rev. Robert N. Anderson Virginia:

"To the Sessions of the Presbyterian Congregations within the bounds of West Hanover Presbytery:—

At the approaching stated meeting of our Presbytery, I design to offer a preamble and string of resolutions on the subject of the use of wine in the Lord's Supper; and also a preamble and a string of resolutions on the subject of the treasonable and abominably wicked interference of the Northern and Eastern fanatics with our political and civil rights, our property, and our domestic concerns. I myself, dear brethren, have no reason to doubt the perfect soundness of all my clerical brethren of this Presbytery on these subjects. But you are fully aware that the present state of things loudly and imperiously calls for an expression of their views on these subjects, and particularly on abolitionism, by all church bodies at the South. You are aware also, that our clergy, whether with or without reason, are more suspected by the public than are the clergy of other denominations. Now, dear christian brethren, I humbly express it as my earnest wish, that you quit yourselves like men: that every congregation send up both to the presbytery and to the Synod, the ablest elder it has. The times—rely upon it, the times demand it. If there be any stray-goat of a minister among us, tainted with the blood-hound principles of Abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects.

Your affectionate brother in the Lord.

ROBERT N. ANDERSON."

The plain English! of this is, if there be a minister among us tainted with the principles of christianity, let

him be ferreted out. &c., and left to the public to hang or burn as suits it best.

“‘Abolition editors in slave States will not dare to avow their opinions. It would be instant DEATH to them.’—Missouri Argus.”

Prophecy, verified in the instance of Gardner of Virginia and more recently in that of John Hampden Pleasants.

Cassius M. Clay traced Slavery in its history throughout all ages and nations, and came to the conclusion that American Slavery was pre-eminent in atrocity. He stated that the murder of slaves went unpunished in Kentucky, and added, “The bells of seven churches weekly toll in my ears till I am deaf with the sound, calling up the people to the worship of the ever-living and omnipotent God. No rakish Jupiter, nor drunken Bacchus, nor prostituted Venus, nor obscene and hideous Pan, rules the consciences of the illuminated people of this city and state. Yet these scenes, which would have added fresh infamy to Babylon, and wrested the palm of reckless cruelty from Nero’s bon-fire, Rome, have been enacted, *not in a corner*. And the sentinels of Him, ‘whose arm is not shortened,’ from the watch towers of Israel, have not ceased to cry out, ‘all is well.’ This was spoken in a Slave State, and C. M. Clay for publishing his sentiments there and assailing the institution of Slavery, was mobbed by the *gentlemen* of Kentucky, and in all human probability his life was alone saved from the ruthless violence of that mob by a severe, and what was then supposed to be a fatal sickness.

“‘We can assure the Bostonians, one and all, who have embarked in the nefarious scheme of abolishing Slavery at the South, that lashes will hereafter be spared the backs of their emissaries. Let them send out their men to Louisiana; they will never return to tell their suffering, but they shall expiate the crime of interfering in our domestic institutions by being BURNED AT THE STAKE.’—New Orleans True American.

“The Charleston Courier, 11th August, 1835, declared that ‘the gallows and the stake’ awaited the Abolitionists who should dare to ‘appear in person among us.’

“‘Let us declare through the public journals of our country, that the question of Slavery is not and shall not be open to discussion; that the system is too deep-rooted among us, and must remain for ever; that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them,

in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dung-hill.'—Columbia (S. C.) Telescope.

While on the Alabama circuit, I spent the Sabbath with an old circuit preacher, who was also a doctor living near "the Horse-shoe," celebrated as Gen. Jackson's battle ground. On Monday morning early he was reading "Pope's Messiah" to me, when his wife called him out. I glanced my eye out of the window and saw a slave man standing by, and they consulting ever him. Presently the doctor took a raw-hide from under his coat and began to cut up the half naked back of the slave. I saw six or seven inches of the skin turn up perfectly white at every stroke, until the whole back was red with gore. The lacerated man cried out some at first; but at every blow the doctor cried "*Won't ye hush! Won't ye hush!*" till the slave finally stood still and groaned. As soon as he had done, the doctor came in panting, almost out of breath, and addressing me said, "*Won't you go to prayer with us sir?*" I fell upon my knees and prayed, but what I said I knew not. When I came out, the poor creature had crept up and knelt by the door during prayer and his back was a gore of blood quite to his heels.

Rev. J. Boucher.

The person in Oberlin, Ohio, to whom the following letter was addressed, has liberated 150 slaves and prefers enduring honest poverty to revelling in ill-gotten gains.

SLAVEHOLDING CHRISTIANITY—TO THE LIFE.—It may strike some minds that the following letter must be a burlesque. For the sake of such it may be important to say that its genuineness is beyond question. The individual to whom the letter was addressed is here, is well known, and is himself well acquainted with the writer. We have all the names in full; but suppose it better to give the public only the initials. The letter may therefore be read as a veritable portraiture of at least one of the forms of a slave holding Christianity.—*Oberlin Evangelist.*

E——, Georgia, September 4, 1845.

DEAR SIR:

I take up my pen to write to you once more, though it is not I that write, but the Lord that writeth through me. Permit me to inform you that since I wrote to you last, I have come out and embraced the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, and am now living in the glorious light and liberty of the children of God. We have had quite an interesting church meeting here this week in relation to Deacon H———. It was thought by many that he would be disfellowshipped, but finally his case was set forth in such a vivid light by the influential members of the Church, our pastor among the rest, he was honorably dis-

charged. For fear you will think the case worse than it really is, I will just state the facts, (although you are such an abolitionist, I suppose you will think it bad enough as it is.) The Deacon had an old slave, that had been in the habit of running away, but had always been caught, until finally about two weeks ago, he made another attempt.— No sooner was the old thing missing, than cousin H—— borrowed neighbor P——s hounds and started in search of him. He had not proceeded far in the woods before he found the old man perched upon the limb of a large tree. He ordered him several times to come down, but the old man who was as stubborn as an ass, still maintained his position. The Deacon then becoming excited, fired his gun at him. The ball passed through his ankle, and mangled it in such a manner that it mortified and he died.— But as I have before stated, our good Pastor, (may the Lord bless his soul) held forth for the justification of the Deacon in such a vivid and heaven approving style that he was discharged upon the ground that he had a right to do what he pleased with his own property,—a judgment which would have been passed by any righteous man. Your uncle J—— buried his youngest child last week. Your cousin W—— thought some of studying at Oberlin, but it is such an abolition hole, I do not think his father will let him go. I have partly bargained for about 50 slaves belonging to Mr. ———. If I can get them as cheap as I expect to, I shall make profit on them, for I understand that the Orleans market is quite good now. I expect to send them down as soon as my driver recovers; for in flogging one of my old slaves the other day, he received a very severe wound from him, he having struck him with his hoe, whereupon the driver instantly drew his pistol from his pocket and shot him dead upon the spot, a fate which he justly merited. From his extreme age (being nearly 80 years old) I consider his death a gain and not a loss to me.

In your last you spoke of visiting us next year. If you come I pray you to leave your abolitionism behind, and show yourself a man. It is now time to go to prayer meeting, and I must close. My wife joins me in love to you.

Yours,

J. F. F.

Notwithstanding such is the company he keeps, the vilest of the vile, the most degraded of the degraded, in writing to editor of Zions Watchman,

The Rev. George W. Langhorne, of North Carolina, says:

"I, sir, would as soon be found in the ranks of a banditti, as numbered with Arthur Tappan and his wanton co-adjutors. Nothing is more appalling to my feelings as a man, contrary to my principles as a Christian and *repugnant* to my soul as a *minister*, than the insidious proceedings of such men."

The men of whom he speaks as the wanton co-adjutors of Arthur Tappan, were preaching deliverance to the captive yet nothing, says Mr. Langhorne, "is more appalling to my feelings as a man." They were teaching the duty of supreme love to God and our neighbors as ourselves, yet nothing "is more contrary to my principles as a christian." They were enjoining upon all to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, and to administer unto the afflicted, in short to fulfill the requirements of christianity, yet nothing "is more repugnant to my soul as a minister" than these proceedings. His abhorrence to their proceedings, no doubt arose from the fact that the teachings of these abolitionists would by reaching the hearts and consciences of the people abolish slavery and effect the downfall of the slaveholding religion of Mr. Langhorne and his abandoned and wicked associates.

Northern men, and the northern church, with the exception of the abolitionists take sides with the South. In evidence of this, is the action referred to in the preceeding pages, of the M. E. Church at its General Conference at Cincinnati; that of the Baptist Triennial Convention which gagged Dr. Brisbane; the pledge of the Board of domestic missions as published in the memorial of the Presbytery of Georgia; the action of the last General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterian Church, also that of the New School, which declared that it was not for the edification of the church to pass any resolution expressive of its disapprobation of slavery, and proceeded to elect Dr. Hill of Virginia, who justified on the floor of the Assembly, the practice of Lynching abolitionists, to preach the sacramental sermon, and administer the sacrament.—The expression of the Ohio annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which

Resolved,—

"That those brethren of the North, who *resist the abolition movements* with firmness and moderation, are the true friends of the church, to the slaves of the South, and to the constitution of our common country," &c.

The New York Annual Conference

Resolved,—

"1. That this Conference fully concur in the advice of the late General Conference, as expressed in their Pastoral Address,

"2. That we disapprove of the members of this Conference patronizing or in any way giving countenance to a paper called *Zion's Watchman*," because in our opinion, it tends to disturb the peace and harmony of the body, by sowing dissension in the church."

Resolved,—

"3. That although we could not condemn any man, or withhold our suffrages from him on account of his *opinions* merely, in reference to the subject of abolitionism, yet we are decidedly of the opinion that none ought to be elected to the office of deacon or elder in our church, unless he give a pledge to the Conference, that he will refrain from agitating the church with discussions on this subject."

The countenance given to mobs, the epithets of infidel, and fanatic, which are bestowed upon abolitionists, the inveterate and violent hostility to their doctrines, the shutting against them of the meeting houses of all denominations including those professed abolitionists the Quakers, preventing them as far as practicable from being heard in behalf of the slave.

Those which open their doors on these occasions give evidence they are willing the subject shall be discussed; that the truth shall be sought for; the people informed upon their duties in relation to it. Those which close their doors, and thus, and by other measures, excite opposition to the abolitionists, go as far as they have power. They cannot induce the populace to hang those who preach deliverance to the captive, on the nearest tree, as do the priests and professors at the South, nor to crucify them as was done to the great emancipator in a long past century, yet in going as far as they do, they give evidence that only a want of power prevents them from proceeding that much further. In closing the doors of their houses for public meeting, against one who preaches deliverance to the captive, they testify that they would hinder him from doing the same in the streets, the woods, the fields, had they the ability so to do. Those who use the weapons of the moral assassin, or countenance and encourage others to use them, in slanders upon the character of those who teach the great fundamental principles of christianity, namely, love to God, and love to man, would assault, and encourage others to

assault their lives, if they dared so to do. They go as far as public sentiment permits them, to encourage and sustain slavery, and the reason they do not proceed to the extremities which are permitted South, is only because they have not the courage to attempt it, not from want of will.

The Episcopal Methodists have brought about some kind of a division in their Association. They have now the "M. E. church South," and the "M. E. church."—This last includes the Baltimore Conference, Slaveholding Maryland and a part of Slaveholding Virginia, besides slaveholding members scattered throughout the northern States. The members commune with slaveholders, and with those who legalize slavery, or in other words, authorise, empower and assist the slave claimant to drive his victim to unremunerated toil, and to punish even to the extent of taking life if he refuses. To scatter families by an endless separation, pollute the daughter, brutalize the son, and to teach their slaves a religion more degrading and idolatrous than heathenism. It takes essentially and in fact the same ground as the Southern church, that it is neither sin to hold a man in bondage, sell him, separate him from a wife or family, compel him to pass his days in brutal ignorance, or authorise the whole of this by making it legal.

Thus we discover that the M. E. Church member stands side by side with the southern professors of a slaveholding religion, and his religion is identical with theirs. Because Christianity wars against slavery, this church wars against christianity. Allusion has already been made to the action of its conference in 1836, and to the resolution of the Ohio and New York conferences, its closing its meeting houses, and preventing its preachers from speaking against slavery, and its manifesting a violent hostility to abolitionists. But again, the church is disciplinary in its organization, it has its established standard of morality, and professes to condemn sin, or a violation of that standard of morals, rebuke the sinner and disfellowship him, unless he can be brought to repentance. As far as I have any knowledge of its proceedings it lives and acts up to the standard of morals which it has established, all those open and known acts recognised by it as sins, it condemns. If a member is known to steal a chicken, or speaks disrespectful of the discipline, he becomes obnoxious to church censure, these acts are regarded as sins, and condemned as such, hence those open and known acts

which are not condemned as sins," are not regarded by the church as sins. To legalize the foul system of slavery, to send the armed soldier to the south to crush the slave, or to drive the slave to unpaid toil, are not regarded or condemned as sinful actions. The person committing these acts, is not rebuked as a sinner, hence the church affirms that these acts are not sins or it would condemn them as such, as it professes to condemn all open and known acts that are sinful, (verily this is straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.) Every act has a moral character, is either right or wrong, that which is right, has the Divine sanction; if slaveholding is not sinful, it is right and has the Divine sanction. Here then is the position of the M. E. Church on the slave question. And as slaveholding is not condemned as a sin by this church, it could not consistently with this fact and its professions as a church disciplinary in its character, condemning sin, admit slaveholding to be a sin. Should it make this admission it would stand before the world as making, according to its own admissions, a false profession; professing to condemn sin, yet passing over what it admits to be a sin, without condemning it. And here is precisely where the member of that church stands, who declares slaveholding to be sinful. He as a church member, says, by his position, by his acts, by the language of his life, that slaveholding is right, an institution of God. He as a church member professes to condemn sin, and claims the M. E. Church to be a christian body, condemning sin, and claiming a christian character for himself, he goes before the world declaiming against slavery as a gross sin, when he knows that as a church member in the church, while professing to condemn sin, he does not condemn this one, that the church for which he claims a christian character, while it professes to condemn sin, does not condemn this one, or this "sum of all villanies," and the man standing in this position, if he is unable to discover his inconsistency, has not sufficient ability to be a hypocrite.

The General Conference in 1844, refused to admit slaveholding to be sinful, and thus maintained its consistency on this point. But all of those churches which are disciplinary, have a standard of morality, and profess to condemn sin, rebuke the sinner, and disfellowship him, unless he can be brought to repentance, that have admitted or declared slaveholding to be sinful, yet

pass over the sin of slaveholding, or of legalizing slavery without condemnation, occupy on this point the same inconsistent position as does the M. E. Church member, who remains a member of that church and admits slaveholding to be sinful. No truth can be more plain than the following. If an act is wrong, then it is wrong to sanction, authorise, or empower another to commit that act. The man who legalizes slavery, sanctions, authorizes and empowers the slave claimant to hold his slave, is involved in all the guilt of slavery as it is. If the character of God is known by his attributes, then from the developements in this little work it will be easy for the reader to form some adequate idea of the character of that God, who is worshipped by the professors of a slaveholding religion in America, that God who is worshipped by those sects, which have been shown to wage a warfare upon christianity. Slavery is a compound of injustice, passion, avarice, revenge, malevolence, cruelty, lust, falsehood, and every thing that is vile and odious; these qualities are the attributes of their God, the moral opposites of the attributes of the everliving and omnipotent God. For christianity teaches us that his attributes are such as justice, right, truth, benevolence, mercy and purity. It would be morally impossible for those who uphold and practice slaveholding, and who make false professions to worship a God of justice, truth, benevolence, and mercy, but all such, while they continue to bow down and worship the bloody moloch of slavery and serve him, must and will war against the attributes of the everliving God.

Reader is this your practice, is this your position, do you belong to any one of these anti-christian slaveholding churches, do you continue a voluntary member of a government that crushes the slave. Then let me implore you to cease your warfare upon truth, and the right, and to abandon your disgraceful, guilty and inglorious connections, to withhold your support from the system of slaveholding, to keep not the company of miscreants, so as to give a sanction to their evil deeds, but in the light and in the power of truth, be free and stand up a man.

You may treat the subject as an unimportant one, one that may lightly be passed over while you feel that others are its victims, not yourselves; but the time will come, when the violated laws of Deity, will be vindi-

cated—when the dark red clouds of muttering wrath, now filling the horizon, will burst upon your guilty heads—when glittering swords, grasped by red arms of vengeance, flashing athwart the angry sky, will wake you from your wicked slumber, to a sense of the impending ruin—when the chalice you have proffered to others lips, will be returned to your own, and you compelled to drink the bitter draught, draining it to its very dregs; and when this despotism, you have nurtured and established, will seize upon yourself as its victim, or track you upon your path, clutching at your heels to drag you down to the lowest depths of torment and perdition; and although you may have stultified your intellects, blunted your moral perceptions, disabled yourself from discriminating between right and wrong, though you may have extinguished the light of reason and enveloped the light of Revelation, in thick clouds of doubt and darkness, yet then the truth, like lightning from a dark cloud, will flash upon your mind, and as plainly as though it were written with the blaze of a sunbeam, you may read the fearful ruin you have brought upon yourself, the mighty ruin you have wrought upon the nation.

“Up then, in Freedom’s manly part,
 From gray-beard old to fiery youth,
 And on the nation’s naked heart
 Scatter the living coals of Truth !
 Up—while ye slumber, deeper yet
 The shadow of our fame is growing !
 Up—while ye pause, our sun may set
 In blood around our altars flowing !

Oh ! rouse ye, ere the storm comes forth—
 The gathered wrath of God and man—
 Like that which wasted Egypt’s earth,
 When hail and fire above it ran.
 Hear ye no warning’s in the air ?
 Feel ye no earthquake underneath ?
 Up—up—why will ye slumber where
 The sleeper only wakes in death ?”

The following is appended to a Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, written by himself. And no one is better qualified to describe the character of the Slaveholding Religion of America, than Mr. Douglass, who was for years a victim of this helish System:

Mr. Douglass says: “What I have said respecting and

against religion, I mean strictly to apply to the *slaveholding religion* of this land, and with no possible reference to Christianity proper; for, between the Christianity of this land, and the Christianity of Christ, I recognize the widest possible difference—so wide, that to receive the one as good, pure, and holy, is of necessity to reject the other as bad, corrupt and wicked. To be the friend of the one, is of necessity to be the enemy of the other. I love the pure, peaceable, and impartial Christianity of Christ: I therefore hate the corrupt, slaveholding, women-whipping, cradle-plundering, partial and hypocritical Christianity of this land. Indeed, I can see no reason, but the most deceitful one, for calling the religion of this land Christianity. I look upon it as the climax of all misnomers, the boldest of all frauds, and the grossest of all libels. Never was there a clearer case of “stealing the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in.” I am filled with unutterable loathing when I contemplate the religious pomp and show, together with the horrible inconsistencies, which every where surround me. We have men-stealers for ministers, women-whippers for missionaries, and cradle plunderers for church members. The man who wields the blood-clotted cowskin during the week fills the pulpit on Sunday and claims to be a minister of the meek and lowly Jesus. The man who robs me of my earnings at the end of each week meets me as class leader on Sunday morning, to show me the way of life, and the path of salvation. He who sells my sister, for purposes of prostitution, stands forth as the pious advocate of purity. He who proclaims it a religious duty to read the Bible, denies me the right of learning to read the name of the God who made me. He who is the religious advocate of marriage robs whole millions of its sacred influence, and leaves them to the ravages of wholesale pollution. The warm defender of the sacredness of the family relation is the same that scatters whole families,—sundering husbands and wives, parents and children, sisters and brothers,—leaving the hut vacant, and the hearth desolate. We see the thief preaching against theft, and the adulterer against adultery. We have men sold to build churches, women sold to support the gospel, and babes sold to purchase Bibles for the *poor heathen! all for the glory of God and the good of souls!* The slave auctioneer’s bell and the church-going bell chime in with each other, and the bitter cries of the heart-broken slave are drowned in the religious shouts of his pious mas-

ter. Revivals of religion and revivals in the slave-trade go hand in hand together. The slave prison and the church stand near each other. The clanking of fetters and the rattling of chains in the prison, and the pious psalm and solemn prayer in the church, may be heard at the same time. The dealers in the bodies and souls of men, erect their stand in the presence of the pulpit, and they mutually help each other. The dealer gives his blood-stained gold to support the pulpit, and the pulpit, in return, covers his infernal business with the garb of Christianity. Here we have religion and robbery the allies of each other—devils dressed in angels' robes, and hell presenting the semblance of paradise.

“Just God! and these are they,
Who minister at thine altar, God of right!
Men who their hands, with prayer and blessing, lay
On Israel's ark of light.

“What! preach and kidnap men?
Give thanks, and rob thy own afflicted poor?
Talk of thy glorious liberty, and then
Bolt hard the captive's door?

The Christianity of America is a Christianity of whose votaries it may be as truly said, as it was of the ancient scribes and Pharisees, “They bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers. All their works they do for to be seen of men.—They love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, * * * * and to be called of men. Rabbi, Rabbi.—But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Ye devour widow's houses, and for a pretence make long prayers; therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation. Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him [twof] more the child of hell than yourselves.—Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides! which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup

and of the platter; but within, they are full of extortion and excess.—Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

Dark and terrible as is this picture, I hold it to be strictly true of the overwhelming mass of professed Christians in America. They strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel. Could any thing be more true of our churches? They would be shocked at the proposition of fellowshipping a *sheep-stealer*; and at the same time they hug to their communion a *man-stealer*, and brand me with being an infidel, if I find fault with them for it. They attend with Pharisaical strictness to the outward forms of religion, and at the same time neglect the weightier matters of law, judgment, mercy and faith. They are always ready to sacrifice, but seldom to show mercy. They are they who are represented as professing to love God whom they have not seen, whilst they hate their brother whom they have seen. They love the heathen on the other side of the globe.—They can pray for him, pay money to have the Bible put into his hand, and missionaries to instruct him; while they despise and totally neglect the heathen at their own doors.

Such is, very briefly, my view of the religion of this land; and to avoid any misunderstanding, growing out of the use of general terms, I mean by the religion of this land, that which is revealed in the words, deeds and actions, of those bodies, north and south, calling themselves Christian churches, and yet in union with slaveholders. It is against religion, as presented by these bodies, that I have felt it my duty to testify."

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It is the intention of the author to continue to publish new editions of this work as the materials for further developments of a sliding religion present themselves.

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